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THE ~~BE~~ HISTORY OF THE JIE OF UGANDA

JOHN E. LAMPHEAR

ABSTRACT

PREFACE This thesis represents the first attempt to reconstruct the pre-colonial history of the Jie of Uganda. It is also the first detailed historical study of any of the Central Paranilotic-speaking peoples of Karamoja District, Uganda, or of neighbouring areas of north-western Kenya or the southern Sudan.

This reconstruction has been based primarily on Jie oral tradition, systematically collected during a sixteen month period of field-work. Because this research project is among the first in which one of the more pastorally-oriented communities of East Africa has been studied, the rather specialised methodological approaches which elicited the historical data used in this thesis are described in detail. A discussion of a chronology based on the Jie generation-set system is also included.

While this thesis covers many aspects of the Jie historical experience from c. 1720 to c. 1915, its central theme is that of the development of the Jie political community. To fully understand that development, a number of inter-related secondary themes are also dealt with. One of these secondary themes is the traditional exercise of authority, both by the gerontocracy of senior elders which operates within the context of the Jie generation-set system, and by hereditary functionaries (ritual fire-makers and war-leaders) who operate outside that system. In discussing the rise of the hereditary functionaries, the Jie New Fire ritual and the development of the Jie military system are also examined.



## PREFACE

My own interest in the pastoral and semi-pastoral peoples of East Africa developed between 1963 and 1967 when I was working as a teacher in Tanzania. The last two years of that period were spent teaching and working in Masai District, and it was during that time that I became specifically interested in the Paraniлотic-speaking peoples. While living in Masai District I took a keen (if very amateur) interest in Maasai and Arusha oral history, and had an opportunity to read much of the existing literature on the Pastoral Maasai and other Paraniлотic-speaking peoples. In 1967 I was able to meet in Nairobi Dr. A.H. Jacobs, who had written a D. Phil. thesis on the Maasai, and who, although a social anthropologist, was interested in the methodology of oral history. Partly at his suggestion, I made a visit to Turkana District in north-western Kenya and thereby briefly acquainted myself with a Central Paraniлотic-speaking community.

In October 1967, I enrolled in the M.A. African Area Studies course at SOAS. During the year spent doing that course, I was able to continue my reading on Paraniлотic-speaking peoples, and to meet a number of African historians who had conducted field-work involving the collection of oral traditions. By the following year I had decided that I should like to undertake a project on one of the pastoral or semi-pastoral Paraniлотic-speaking peoples of East Africa

in which the systematic collection of oral tradition would play a basic part. Before the completion of my degree in 1968, Professor R.A. Oliver, with whom I had discussed my growing interest, suggested that the Jie of Karamoja District, Uganda, might well provide an interesting and worthwhile subject for subsequent Ph.D. research. The Jie seemed an especially good choice in that a colleague at SOAS, Mr. John Tosh, was shortly to embark on field-work amongst the Langi, a people living to the west of the Jie in north-central Uganda, with whom it was thought that the Jie had experienced some early inter-action. Moreover, a social anthropologist, Professor P.H. Gulliver, the only scholar of any discipline ever to have studied the Jie, and under whom I had studied during part of my M.A. course work, was also at SOAS.

The first nine months of 1969 were spent preparing for my field-work in Uganda. During this period, I continued to read the available literature on the Paraniotic-speaking peoples and began an intensive study of the methodology of oral history. An effort was made to meet additional historians who had carried out projects based on the collection of oral tradition, as well as scholars of other disciplines who had had experience in Karamoja District or amongst any of the Paraniotic-speaking groups. However, when I left for Uganda in October, 1969 to begin 16 months of field-work amongst the Jie, I still faced two major problems.



The first of these problems was the very meagre historiography of the Jie (or indeed the other Central Paraniotic-speaking peoples) which existed at that time. The previous historiography of the Central Paraniotes is outlined in some detail in the first chapter of this thesis, but briefly, only one of the various Central Paraniotic-speaking communities had been systematically studied by a historian prior to October, 1969. That community was the Iteso, a people living well to the south-west of the Jie, outside Karamoja District, amongst whom Professor J.B. Webster of Makerere University, assisted by a team of research students, had conducted field research just prior to my arrival in Uganda. While Webster's work was to prove indirectly valuable to some of my own Jie research, the Iteso were rather too far removed to provide much directly relevant information on the history of the Jie. The fact remained that not one of the more pastoral Central Paraniotic-speaking groups of Karamoja District, or of neighbouring areas of north-western Kenya or the Southern Sudan, had ever been studied in depth by an historian. Mine was to be the first intensive historical research on any of the groups inhabiting that rather vast and heretofore largely ignored area.

While naturally not the central concern of his own research, Gulliver, in the 1950's had undertaken a brief historical reconstruction of the Jie and the other more pastoral Central Paraniotic peoples (whom he termed the

Again see Chapter 1, below, for a discussion of all these reconstructions.



"Karamojong Cluster"), concentrating his attention on the question of their origins. In 1968, another social anthropologist, Dr. N. Nagashima, who had had field experience amongst the Iteso, but not amongst any of the peoples of Karamoja, also attempted a reconstruction of the origins of the Central Paraniotes which did not diverge very greatly from Gulliver's. In 1963 another observer, Fr. J. P. Crazzolaro, whose main interest lay with the Lwo-speaking peoples living west of Karamoja, had also attempted a reconstruction of Central Paraniotic origins, but, had arrived at totally different conclusions from Gulliver and Nagashima.<sup>1</sup> At the opposite end of the time spectrum from these brief reconstructions of Central Paraniotic origins, Dr. J. P. Barber had examined the advent of the colonial administration in Karamoja District during the early part of the twentieth century. Working mainly from archival sources, Barber's picture of the Jie and the other Central Paraniotic-speaking peoples of Karamoja was based almost exclusively on existing, mainly ethnological, literature, without any real attempt to investigate the impact of colonial administration from the points of view of the indigenous peoples.

Apart from these main items of previous historiography, some additional work of potential relevance to my study of Jie oral history had also been carried out in

1 Again see Chapter I, below, for a discussion of all these reconstructions.

various parts of Karamoja, much of it by social anthropologists. As noted above, Gulliver, who had worked amongst them in 1950 and 1951, was the only scholar of any discipline to have carried out research in depth on the Jie prior to my arrival in Uganda. The focus of Gulliver's study had been the Jie extended family, through which he examined in detail the Jie kinship system and the concept of stock ownership. Gulliver had also conducted similar research amongst the Turkana, the Central Paraniotic-speaking eastern neighbours of the Jie who inhabit the north-western corner of Kenya. Another social anthropologist, N. Dyson-Hudson, had worked from 1956 to 1958 amongst the Central Paraniotic-speaking Karimojong, southern neighbours of the Jie, while the Dodos, northern neighbours of the Jie, had been cursorily examined by Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, a journalist who used a basically anthropological approach, and by W. Deshler, a geographer. The Labwor, the Lwo-speaking south-western neighbours of the Jie, had been studied by another social anthropologist, R. G. Abrahams. An examination of the Teuso of northern Karamoja, a hunting and gathering people speaking a Fringe Cushitic dialect, had been carried out by C. Turnbull, also a social anthropologist. Basing his work on the collection of oral tradition and on archaeological investigations, Mr. John Wilson had completed a reconstruction of the origins and early history of the non-Paraniotic-speaking Dropom of Southern Karamoja just before my arrival



in Uganda. Concurrent with my own work, Mr. J. M. Weatherby was conducting historical research amongst the fringe Cushitic-speaking Tepes of southern Karamoja. Finally, after my own work had begun, Professor Webster began a historical project amongst the Lwo-speaking eastern Acoli kingdoms, western neighbours of the Jie.

While there was thus a fair amount of existing information on the Jie and their neighbours, much of that information (however valuable it might be to my general preparation for field-work) was of very little direct relevance to my intended reconstruction of Jie history. Even Gulliver's work on the Jie themselves, basically concerned as it was with an examination of Jie extended families, had not dealt with many aspects of Jie society which I, as a historian, would have found extremely useful. Thus, although Gulliver did provide an invaluable reconstruction of the Jie generation-set system, for example, he was not directly concerned with the nature of the Jie political community or, except in a rather general way, with the exercise of political authority both internal to or external from the machinery of the generation-set system.

While the previous reconstructions of Jie and other Central Paraniotic origins indicated certain basic problems which could be examined by my research, and while Barber's study on the imposition of colonial rule suggested other possible areas of enquiry, the long period between these



two widely separated epochs of the Jie historical experience remained an almost total mystery. As my research commenced, therefore, I was forced to approach Jie history on a very wide front, not confining my investigations to any one particular epoch, or even to one major historical theme. Especially during the earlier stages of my work, I had to rely on the testimonies of my informants for direction towards an understanding of the dominant themes in the Jie historical experience. Gradually, it became apparent that the development of the Jie political community, from a loose collection of largely autonomous kinship and territorial groups to something which more closely resembled a unified nation, would provide the focus for my investigations. Nevertheless, a number of secondary and inter-related themes, including, among others the rise of hereditary functionaries and the degree and nature of their authority, the effects of famines and other disasters with regard to political formation and fragmentation, and the development of the Jie military system, continued to be regarded as important areas of investigation.

If the meagre historiography of the Jie and the other Central Paraniotes presented me a major problem at the time of my arrival in Karamoja District, an equally important problem was that concerning the methodology of reconstructing Jie history. Primary archival and published literature on the Jie goes no further back than the beginning of the

twentieth century, and much of the earlier literature is far more concerned with the activities of Europeans in the Jie country and in neighbouring areas than with the Jie themselves. It was obvious, therefore, that a reconstruction of Jie history must perforce be based primarily on the systematic collection and analysis of Jie oral tradition.

In recent years, an increasingly large number of African historians have successfully undertaken research projects in which oral tradition has provided the bases for their reconstructions of the histories of pre-literate peoples in many different parts of Africa. In East Africa these have included B. A. Ogot's work on the Southern Lwo, G. Were's on the Abaluyia, G. Muriuki's on the Kikuyu, and D. H. Cohen's on the ~~B~~usoga (all of which are cited in this thesis), amongst many others. In my view, such works had firmly established the validity of reconstructing the history of a pre-literate community largely through oral data, with written sources of all descriptions playing a mainly auxiliary and supportive role.<sup>1</sup>

Except for Jacob's work on the Pastoral Maasai, however, very little historical investigation based on traditional evidence had been carried out amongst any of the

1 While in my opinion the collection of oral tradition requires no additional defence as a valid tool of historical methodology, I might draw the reader's attention to several apologies of oral tradition. These include J. Vansina's Oral Tradition (London, 1961), the introduction to B.A. Ogot's History of the Southern Lwo (Nairobi 1967) and the final section of my article written in conjunction with J.B. Webster, "The Jie-Acholi War: Evidence from Two Sides of the Battle Front" (Uganda Journal, 35 1971).



more pastorally-oriented Paraniotic-speaking peoples of East Africa. Most of the projects prior to my own had been conducted amongst the more sedentary agricultural peoples, many of them Bantu- or Lwo-speaking, who frequently tended to have a more centralised political organisation than one would expect to encounter amongst the more pastoral Paraniotes. Even the Central Paraniotic-speaking Iteso studied by Webster are intensely agricultural, quite unlike most of the other Central Paraniotic groups including the Jie. Furthermore, from much of the existing literature, the Iteso appeared to exhibit important socio-political differences from the Central Paraniotic societies of Karamoja. Similarly, most of the literature on the methodology of oral history, including the most comprehensive work, Vansina's Oral Tradition, was written with the more sedentary and politically centralised African societies in mind. Clearly, a research project amongst a more pastoral and de-centralised people like the Jie would present specialised and difficult problems, seldom encountered in previous research projects.

Again, the practical methodology which I employed in the collection of Jie oral tradition is fully discussed in the second chapter of this thesis. Briefly, it was quickly discovered that oral tradition existed on not one, but several levels of Jie society. At one extreme there were the traditions perpetuated by clans and sub-clans, which were the microcosmic histories of relatively small kinship groups.



Although limited in perspective, these traditions, given the strong egalitarianism of the Jie system and certain mnemonic devices inherent to various clan observances, proved to be very reliable. At the other extreme were traditions maintained by large segments of the Jie community, and, less frequently, by the community as a whole. While these traditions tended to be much more vague and generally less reliable than the traditions of the smaller kinship groups, they did usually achieve a wider view of historical events, and (if properly treated) could permit the clan and sub-clan traditions to be seen in their proper perspective. It is my firm contention that only by a systematic and thorough collection and analysis of the traditions perpetuated on all levels of the society that a clear understanding of the Jie historical experience could be achieved. Because of the relatively small population and the compact settlement area of the Jie, it was possible to undertake a comprehensive collection of traditions from virtually every section of the community.

Most of my data were collected during a series of 132 formal interviews with 214 different Jie informants, plus an additional 63 interviews carried out amongst the neighbours of the Jie (none of whom had received any serious historical attention) in order to secure corroborative and comparative data. Again, the form of these interviews, as well as the informants themselves, is discussed in Chapter

II below. In addition to these oral sources, a number of written sources were also used, although mainly in an ancillary way to the oral traditions. Most of these were published secondary sources, although I also employed some unpublished primary archival sources (mainly from the Uganda Government Archives at Entebbe), as well as a number of unpublished secondary sources, mainly seminar papers recently written by scholars whose field-work was more or less contemporary with my own. Apart from these historical and ethnographic sources, archaeological investigation also provided a certain amount of supportive data to my research.

Having collected a vast amount of historical information during my 16 months in Karamoja District, an additional 14 months have been spent in London completing the analysis, organisation and writing up of that information in the form of this thesis. It should be noted that before beginning to write this thesis, it had been planned to include a long appendix of excerpts from interviews not used in the actual text of the thesis. Because the quality of the testimonies given in the interviews was of a standard far higher than one could have reasonably expected, however, it was decided to include rather more direct excerpts from interviews in the body of the thesis than originally anticipated, and thereby to dispense with the appendix. Where radically different versions of a tradition were found to exist, or where any portion of a quoted testimony needs comment or clarification, relevant footnotes have been included.

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One could not hope to carry out a research project such as mine without the support, advice and hospitality of many other people. The 16 months of field-work in Uganda and nine months of my writing up period was financed by a generous grant from the Foreign Area Fellowship Program of New York. The remainder of my writing-up period was kindly financed by The School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, with an Additional Grants Award.

I am very grateful to my supervisor, Professor Roland Oliver, for his patient advice and guidance throughout every stage of my project. Throughout my work, Professor Oliver gave me a great deal of his valuable time, especially during the crucial stages of organisation and writing up. Because the Paraniotic-speaking and more pastoral peoples have been largely ignored in the previous historiography of East Africa, this thesis will undoubtedly appear somewhat esoteric to some readers. In that this thesis has managed to transcend its unfortunate, but largely unavoidable esotericism, the credit is due largely to Professor Oliver's advice and counsel; in that it has failed to escape that esotericism, the fault is entirely my own. A number of other people at SOAS also gave generously of their time and advice, both prior to and after my Uganda field-work. These included Professor P.H. Gulliver, Professor A. Tucker, Dr. P. Spencer and Mr. J. Tosh.

In Kampala, my family and I received the hospitality of Professor and Mrs. J.B. Webster on several occasions,



and Mr. and Mrs. K. Gourlay gave us valuable practical advice on living in Karamoja when we first arrived in the country. The Hon. Mr. M. Choudry, then Minister of Water and Mineral Development, and the only Cabinet Minister from Karamoja, kindly provided me with several letters of introduction, prior to my setting out for Karamoja. The staff of the Entebbe Archives invariably did their utmost to facilitate my examination of Secretariat Minute files on Karamoja during my several visits there.

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and kindness, but provided us with our housing in Kotido.

During my research, I was given active support by a number of other people. Mr. John Weatherby provided comparative material on the Tepes and assisted me in Archaeological investigations in Central Karamoja. Mr. John Wilson provided considerable botanic and ecological information, and also assisted me with archaeological investigations. A number of professional archaeologists, especially Mr. Hamo Sassoon, the Uganda Inspector of Monuments, were also of great help. Throughout the latter part of my research, comparative information of the kingdoms of eastern Acholi was provided by Professor Bertin Webster. Comparative data on the Iteso and help in understanding certain sociological aspects of the Central Paraniotes was provided by Dr. Nobuhiro Nagashima.

After my return from Uganda, Col. J. Chidlaw-Roberts kindly entered into a long correspondence with me, and Col. H. Moyes-Bartlett and Mrs. D. Clark also provided useful information. I am also grateful to Mr. John Tosh, Professor P. H. Gulliver, Dr. A. H. Jacobs and Dr. R. G. Abrahams (who in addition met with me prior to and after my field-work), for reading earlier drafts of some chapters of this thesis and making very useful comments. My thanks also go to Mrs. Anne Archer for typing the final draft.

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A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

I have not followed a scientific orthography in this thesis and, in general, the Central Paraniotic and Lwo words and terms which I have used are spelled phonetically. In all cases these phonetic spellings were arrived at only after listening closely to the pronunciation of the word by a number of different informants (usually Jie informants), and I was invariably aided and advised in determining a spelling by one or more of my research assistants.

I have spelled "Karimjong" with an "i", rather than as "Karamjong" as some previous writers have done, as I am quite satisfied that most of my Karimjong and Jie informants pronounced the name with a definite "i" sound. Similarly, I have spelled "Dodos" with an "s", rather than "Dodoth" as is sometimes encountered in previous writing. While a "th" sound is frequently lisped by Central Paraniotic-speakers, it was clear that most of my Jie and all my Dodos informants pronounced the name with a definite "s" sound. Moreover, some Dodos added an almost whispered "o" sound at the end of the name.

It should be noted that the "ng" sound encountered in so many Central Paraniotic words and names is velar n sound, as in the English "singer". The sound "ch" is represented in both Central Paraniotic and Lwo by "c". One exception to this is with the spelling of the area, "Acholi". I have

included the "h" here to make a clear distinction between the area and the people who inhabit that area, whose name I spell "Acoli", in the usual manner.

I have tried to keep Central Paraniotic and Lwo words and terms to a minimum. With a few words, it was rather difficult to find a satisfactory English equivalent, and thus the indigenous word was commonly used. The most frequently encountered of these words and a rough English translation follow:

- angola or akiwodokin - a ceremony in which participants pass through an improvised gate to secure a blessing.
- anyamet, pl. nganyameta - a constituent age-set or age-section of a generation-set.
- awi, pl. ngauyai - dry-season cattle camp.
- asabanu - the generation set system, or, specifically, one given generation-set.
- Ejiot - the singular of Ngijie - One Jie
- ekaworon, pl. ngikeworok - ritual fire-maker
- Ekuliakit - the singular of Ngikuliak: one Kuliak
- emuron, pl. ngimurok - diviner, specifically a "healing diviner".
- etal, pl. ngitalia - observance, prohibition or custom, generally applied to a clan
- rwot, pl. nwodi - the Lwo term for "chief" or "king"



## ABBREVIATIONS OF SOURCES

The sources primarily used in this thesis were the interviews (termed "historical texts") which I carried out during my period of field work in Uganda. When citing these interviews, the names of the informants who provided the testimony are given together with an abbreviated reference to the "historical text" in which that testimony was given. The "historical texts" are abbreviated as follows: "J" for Jie, "D" for Dodos, "BK" for Bokora Karimojong; "MTK" for Matheniko Karimojong, "TK" for Tome Karimojong, "MOK" for Mothingo Karimojong, "L" for Labwor, "NY" for Nyakwai, "Y" for Eyan, and "T" for Turkana, and followed by the chronological number of the interview. Thus, for example, "J-55" refers to Jie historical text number 55, and "T-15" refers to Turkana historical text number 15.

Journals and periodicals frequently referred to are abbreviated as follows: JAS for the Journal of the African Society; JRAI for the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute; G.J. for the Geographical Journal; U.J. for the Uganda Journal; and SNR for Sudan Notes and Records.

Secretariat Minute Papers from the Entebbe Archives are abbreviated EA, followed by the archival file number. Foreign Office Confidential Prints are abbreviated FOCP, followed by the print number.

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1 The Jie call themselves, and are called by their Paraniotic-speaking neighbours, "Ngjile". The prefix ngj- can be translated "the people of" or "those of" and invariably prefixes all Central Paraniotic group names. In general, I shall not use the ngj- form in this book, except when referring to generation and age-set groups when the form will invariably be used. The reader should be aware, however, that all Central Paraniotic group names are more correctly written with this prefix.

The Jie call their country "Ngjile" and their language "Ngjile", and I shall use these terms throughout.

2 The following tribes can be included in this linguistic grouping: Jie, Sodoo, Karimjong, Desso, Eyan and possibly Lomole in Uganda; Turkana and Mursi in Kenya; and Toposa, Dagaaba and Mursi in the Sudan. This group has also been referred to as the "Karimjong Cluster" and the "Teso-speaking group", but I shall avoid using either of those terms for reasons I hope will become obvious in the text below.



CHAPTER ONEENVIRONMENT. SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND PREVIOUS HISTORIOGRAPHY

The Jie,<sup>1</sup> numbering about 33,000 people, belong to the linguistic group called, by Professor A. N. Tucker, the "Central Paraniotes".<sup>2</sup> They live entirely within the boundaries of Jie County in the central Karamoja District of Uganda. The County corresponds closely to Najie, the traditional tribal area of the Jie, and encompasses an area of roughly 1,300 square miles.

To the north of the Jie live the Dodos; to the south are the Bokora Karimojong; to the south-east, the Matheniko Karimojong; to the east, down the escarpment in Kenya, are the Turkana; to the west, several of the traditional states of the eastern Acoli; and to the south-west, the Labwor and Nyakwai. The Dodos, Turkana and the Karimojong groups are, like the Jie, Paraniotic-speaking, while the western peoples all speak Lwo dialects.

- 1 The Jie call themselves, and are called by their Paraniotic-speaking neighbours, "Ngijie". The prefix Ngi- can be translated "the people of" or "those of" and invariably prefixes all Central Paraniotic group names. In general, I shall not use the Ngi- form in this thesis, except when referring to generation and age-set groups when the form will invariably be used. The reader should be aware, however, that all Central Paraniotic group names are more correctly written with this prefix.

The Jie call their country "Najie" and their language "Ajie", and I shall use these terms throughout.

- 2 The following tribes can be included in this linguistic grouping; Jie, Dodos, Karimojong, Iteso, Eyan and possibly Lokutio in Uganda; Turkana and Itesyo in Kenya; and Toposa, Dongiro and Jiye in the Sudan. This group has also been referred to as the "Karimojong Cluster" and the "Teso-speaking group", but I shall avoid using either of those terms for reasons I hope will become obvious in the text below.







Only to the west and south-west, where the high ground dominated by Mt. Napono (6,420 feet) and the Labwor Hills marks the boundaries between the Jie and their Lwo-speaking neighbours, are there natural and easily discernible frontiers. Elsewhere, uninhabited bush-country invariably forms a rather fluid "no-man's land" between the various tribal areas.

Karamoja District and Najie are part of the relatively dry north-eastern plateau of Uganda which drops away steeply on the east, down the Turkana escarpment to the semi-arid plains west of Lake Rudolf which form the north-western corner of Kenya. Like much of Karamoja District, Najie is generally flat, but dotted with isolated rock outcroppings and hills. The main elevation is between 3,500 and 4,000 feet, but in the Losilang and Rengen areas of northern Najie the elevation rises to over 4,000 feet, and a string of hills, the highest of which is Theau (4,770), extend northwards into the country of the Dodos. To the east the ground also rises to something over 4,000 feet, dominated by Koten Hill (5,556 feet). In the west are a scattering of isolated hills, including Maru (4,701 feet) and Kaceri or Poet (4,765 feet). Finally, standing in relatively lofty isolation to the south, near the frontier with the Bokora Karimojong, is Mt. Toror, at 6,391 feet, the highest point in Najie.

There are 4 main river courses, the Mangolapalon and the Dopeth (with its tributaries the Longiro, Lokwakel, and Lokibuwo) flowing southwards towards Lake Bisina (Salisbury), and the Kapeta and the Kotidani flowing westwards to join with the Acua, and eventually the Nile.

All of these river courses remain dry for most of the year, except during the heaviest of the rains, when they are apt to fill up with startling abruptness. With the return of drier weather, they rapidly dry up again, although it is possible to dig water from the river beds at certain points for much of the dry season.

These digging points (ngakare) traditionally provided the Jie with most of their dry-season water, and they are still relied on to some extent, although Government-constructed bore-holes and dams now provide a more abundant supply and a more certain alternative for some areas. Other sources of dry-season water include natural cisterns in rock outcroppings, and water-holes and wells dug by the Jie, generally in close proximity to their settlements. Most of these sources, however, can be relied on for only a few weeks after the cessation of the rains.

There are two seasons: a wet season, lasting from approximately late March to mid-August; and a dry season, beginning in August and going on to the following March. Although each wet season has its own peculiarities, there are usually heavy rains in April and May, resuming in July and early August, after a drier period in June<sup>1</sup>. This pattern is reflected in the names of Jie months. The time roughly corresponding to April is Locoto, which can be translated "the time of mud", and May is Titima, "the time of tall sorghum". The periods corresponding to July and August are respectively Lomodokogwec and Losuban, "the time when the stirring-stick remains

1. Gulliver, P.H., The Family Herds, London, 1955, p.17



dirty (with food)" and "the time of marriages" - the happiest times of the Jie year<sup>1</sup>.

Rainfall records for Najie are scanty. Records of annual rainfall at Kotido in Central Najie for the years between 1947 and 1957 (exclusive of 1950) appear in Dyson-Hudson's Karimojong Politics. These show a high of 39.39 inches in 1947 and a low of 19.22 inches in 1953. The average annual rainfall during the 10-year period works out to about 27 inches<sup>2</sup>.

Most of the rainfall in a given year is usually confined to the four wet months mentioned above, although a few inches are liable to fall as the rainy season builds up and then diminishes. Again the names of Jie months reflect the pattern. The time corresponding to September, when the rains begin to taper off, is Lopoo, "when it gets dry", and January, when the dry season is at its height and rainfall is virtually non-existent, is Lokwang, "the white time", referring to the great clouds of white dust which envelop the landscape<sup>3</sup>.

Significantly, rainfall in six of the 10 years recorded by Dyson-Hudson was less than the 27-inch average, and in four of those years

1. Lotiang (and others), J-27

2. Dyson-Hudson, N., Karimojong Politics, Oxford, 1966, p.31

Gulliver, working mainly without records, estimated the average rainfall at about 25 inches. Gulliver, Ibid.

3. Although there is now a small weather station at Kotido, its staff was able to supply me with rainfall records only for the seven months between July, 1970 and January 1971.

1. Lotiang (and others), J-27

2. Personal communication with Mr. Juma Tether, Geologist in charge of the Uganda Government Geological Survey of Karimojong.

the rainfall was less than 23 inches. There was also nearly a 50 percent variance between the 1947 high and the 1953 low rainfalls. It is also important to note that much of the first rain each year is lost in run-off, the parched ground being unable to absorb the sudden deluges; and a fierce east wind, which blows up the escarpment from the semi-arid Turkana plains throughout the dry season, does much to intensify the effects of the dry season by rapidly evaporating surface water and blowing away a good bit of loose top-soil. It can be misleading, therefore, to think strictly in terms of a 27-inch average rainfall for Najie.

Moreover, not all parts of Najie have the same amounts of rainfall. Kotido and central Najie (where the figures listed by Dyson-Hudson were recorded) would appear to experience the mean rainfall. To the west, however, in the Kaceri and Losikuca area and westwards to Kotidani, the rainfall is considerably higher, probably approaching the 40-inch average of the Labwor Hills, which these areas border<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, the eastern part of Najie around Koten Hill seems considerably drier than the Kotido area just 25 miles west, and one area of Mt. Toror in southern Najie is reputedly the driest place in all of Uganda, with only negligible rainfall<sup>2</sup>.

Despite this light and erratic rainfall, seed agriculture traditionally plays an important role in Jie economic life. Although

1. Rainfall records for the Abim/Alerek area of Labwor for the years between 1947-57 are found in Dyson-Hudson, Ibid. It should be noted that there was considerably less fluctuation in annual rainfall here than was the case with the Kotido area.
2. Personal communication with Mr. John Tether, Geologist in charge of the Uganda Government Geological Survey of Karamoja.



widespread and even total crop failures are common, rather extensive plots of cultivated ground surround every Jie homestead, especially near river-banks and low-lying depressions which retain more surface water.<sup>1</sup> Sorghum (mumwa in Ajie) is the staple crop and represents by far the greatest percentage of the total cultivation,<sup>2</sup> although finger-millet (ngakima) has been increasingly grown in certain western areas of Najie in recent years.

Sorghum is regarded by the Jie as their original crop. Indeed, it is common to hear Jie elders say, "God created sorghum and cattle on the same day". Ngadekele (a variety of pumpkin) and a type of cucumber are also thought to be of ancient origin, but other crops (still regarded as more or less exotic) including sim-sim, groundnuts, maize, sweet potatoes, cow peas, and tobacco are all thought to have been borrowed from Lwo-speakers, and are only cultivated by the Jie to a minimal extent.<sup>3</sup>

1. Gulliver, P. H., "Jie Agriculture", U.J. 18, 1954, p.65, estimated that in about two out of every five years rainfall is insufficient for a successful harvest.

In 1954 the average garden plot tilled by a Jie woman was estimated by Gulliver at 1.63 acres. Although I have no concrete data, I am under the impression that Jie gardens have to some extent increased in size since then.

2. McMaster, D.N., A Subsistence Crop Geography of Uganda, Bude Cornwall, 1962, p.55, estimated that in 1958 the acreage devoted to sorghum cultivation in Karamoja District represented one-fifth of the total for all of Uganda.

3. Locek (Limorumoe) and Ariny, J-96.

Traditionally, Jie agriculture was almost exclusively the domain of women.<sup>1</sup> The Jie statement that "sorghum is the cattle of women" recorded by Gulliver<sup>2</sup> is typical of their outlook.

The yearly agricultural cycle begins several weeks before the advent of the rains with the tilling of the plots surrounding the homestead. These plots belong, in every sense, to the woman who is in charge of their cultivation, and she is the one who bears the responsibility for providing labour for every phase of the cycle. It is not unusual for the women of one area to band together to work communally on each others' plots at tilling times, but after this initial stage, cultivation is left to the owner of the garden. Usually, she is helped by her daughters, co-wives, or other women from her husband's settlement, and even male members of a settlement may supply occasional labour: an older man perhaps helping a wife to weed, or a small boy taking a turn with his sisters on the bird-scaring platforms as the grain ripens. Young men commonly help with the building of granary baskets at harvest time.

The harvest of the main crop is usually simultaneous with the

1. In the past 20 years, however, many Jie families have adopted ox-drawn ploughs for the initial tilling of garden plots. The ploughs and their teams are invariably driven by men and, in some areas, have completely replaced the traditional lines of women with their short-handled, iron-tipped hoes. It is notable, however, that Jie men rationalize this new activity which has so directly impinged on the women's traditional domain in non-agricultural terms. A man ploughing in his wife's field once told me: "No, I am not cultivating; I am driving oxen. Could a woman drive oxen? No, only men can do that."

2. Gulliver (1954), op. cit., p.66.



end of the rains, although a certain amount of grain is often harvested before. It is important that dry weather accompanies the main harvesting so that the sorghum can be properly dried before storing in the granaries. It is paradoxical in this country of light rainfall that Jie crops are occasionally ruined by too wet an end to the rainy season, causing the grain to rot in the fields or on the drying floors.

The harvested sorghum is used in basically two ways. A great deal of it provides the main ingredient for a variety of beers brewed throughout the year by the women of a settlement. Most of this beer is consumed on ceremonial occasions in which it often plays an important ritual role. The sorghum is also used to make a soft bread (atap) which ideally should provide the staple food at the Jie homesteads for much of the dry season. Cucumbers, pumpkins, greens and other produce are consumed as they ripen during the wet season as relishes for the atap, and a small quantity is often dried for use later in the dry season.

There seems to be no question that the Jie economy, traditionally as well as at present, was a mixed one, and that the Jie cannot be considered "pastoralists" in the real sense of the word. Nevertheless, because of a tendency on the part of many past writers to present the peoples of Karamoja as "pastoral", the point seems to need emphasis. Such writers seem to ignore a journal article written by P. M. Gulliver in 1954 in which he makes it clear that cereal foods are equally as important as animal food in the Jie economy. He also felt that this had been the case for many generations, and indeed

that the Jie would starve without their agricultural produce.<sup>1</sup>

Gulliver goes on to point out that the disdain with which truly pastoral peoples (pastoralists through choice, such as the Pastoral Masai) look upon agriculturalists, certainly does not exist with the Jie and their neighbours in Karamoja. Rather, there is a distinct Jie tendency to view successful agricultural peoples with respect. It should also be mentioned that the Jie do not shun hunting and gathering activities, as do the truly pastoral societies, but (as will be shown below) rely on such activities as an integral part of their economy. The importance of their balanced economy to the Jie is frequently reflected in their prayers on ritual occasions:

1. Gulliver (1954), op.cit., pp. 67-8. See also McMaster, op.cit., p.29, where he states that the recent agricultural advances among the Paraniotic-speaking peoples of Uganda "are really manifestations of traditional tribal ways, modified and burgeoning in new conditions."

Certainly the dramatic modifications of Jie settlement patterns in the past 20 years have been dictated by agricultural, rather than pastoral, considerations. In that span of time the Jie population has doubled, and extreme pressures have been brought to bear on much of the already denuded and overworked agricultural land in the traditional settlement areas. This has led to large emigrations of Jie westwards to the relatively more fertile land around Kaceri and Losikuca. These emigrants have become intensely agricultural in their outlook, cultivating large fields of sorghum, and even finger-millet and maize.



(Leader) There are cattle, and they are good.

(Response) They are!

(Leader) There is food (crops) and it is good.

(Response) It is!

(Leader) Should the cattle die, there are crops.

(Response) There are!

(Leader) If the crops do not grow, there are cattle.

(Response) There are!

(Leader) Let there be rain so there will be cattle  
and crops!

The economic, sociological, and ritual importance of cattle to the Jie and their Paranilotic-speaking neighbours has been fully attested in the writings of Gulliver and Dyson-Hudson. Although agriculture is of equal importance in the economic sphere, livestock would seem to be of rather more importance in the sociological and ritual spheres: those spheres, significantly, which are dominated by the men.<sup>2</sup> As agriculture was seen to be almost exclusively the domain of women, stock management is almost entirely the domain of men.

#### 1. Jie Ritual Text No.1.

2. I feel, however, that the ritual importance of agricultural foods, in the form of beers, has been somewhat overlooked by previous writers. Before my formal initiation into a Jie generation-set, Mabuc Loputuka, my Jie "father" counselled me in this way: "A castrated male animal and beer - these are the things a man must provide if he is to be initiated. The animal and the beer, both are part of initiation." Certainly beer played an important role at a great many of the ritual occasions I observed.

There are instances when individual birds, and even entire flocks, are owned by women who are able to dispose of them in any way they please.

Ideally, the livestock of a Jie family is owned in common by a set of full-brothers, the more senior exercising the greatest authority over its control. A considerable proportion of the stock is in turn allocated by the brothers to their wives, so that each woman of the family has a certain number of animals to provide food for her and her children. This allocation in no way implies ownership on the part of the women, and the ultimate control of all livestock remains in the hands of the men.<sup>1</sup>

Milk, drunk both fresh and sour, is the main food obtained from the cattle. It is often mixed with blood, obtained by piercing the neck of a living animal with a blocked arrow. Meat is less frequently eaten. Cattle are seldom killed except for a ritual purpose, and even then most of the meat is consumed by initiated men, rather than women and children. A goat or sheep (or a cow which has died of natural causes) will occasionally be slaughtered for a family's food, but only in time of famine.

The location of Jie herds (traditionally as well as at present) depends on both the time of the year and the security of frontiers bordering on hostile neighbours. Ideally, the bulk of the livestock follows a pattern of transhumance in which it moves from the westernmost to the easternmost extremities of Najie, and back again, in a single year.

1. Gulliver (1955), op.cit., pp. 57-63

In the fairly recent past, some Jie families have begun to keep flocks of chickens. There are instances when individual birds, and even entire flocks, are owned by women who are able to dispose of them in any way they please.



The west, with its higher rainfall, tends to be an area of moist savannah-woodland with high grass which is only of real use to domestic stock during the early part of the rainy season when the new grass is still short and green. As the western grass grows taller, the Jie herds begin to move eastwards during the height of the rains, taking advantage of the ephemeral grass cover and surface water of the heavily denuded central area and the drier short-grass, savannah-woodland conditions of the east.

As the rains diminish, the herds are driven westwards again, becoming increasingly concentrated on the few permanent water points there, especially along the Kapeta River, as the dry season runs its course.<sup>1</sup> The actual movement of a given herd is determined by its owner, and there is, as might be expected, considerable individual variation from the ideal pattern.

Periods of conflict, moreover, have at many times closed various areas of Najie to stock movement. At present, for example, much of eastern Najie is unusable because of heavy incursions by Turkana raiding parties. In the past, western, southern, and northern pasture areas have at one time or another been closed to Jie grazing, and at least once the all-important permanent water-points at Kapeta were wrested from their control. At such times, patterns of transhumance must be altered accordingly. Apart from the Kapeta, other dry-season water could be obtained at the foot of the Labwor Hills at Loyoit, at the deep Lokibuwo wells below Mt. Toror, and usually at Lotisan well near Koten Hill. It was imperative to the survival

1. Ibid., p.18



of their herds that the Jie hold at least one of these water-points.<sup>1</sup>

Ideally, again, a small herd of milch-cows, as well as a flock of small stock and a few donkeys are retained at the permanent settlements to provide food for members of the family who remain there throughout the year. Usually these animals include those of a woman's allocated herd, but obviously the numbers which can be retained depend on the intensity of the dry season. As the dry season progresses and as cows go dry, more and more animals are driven from the permanent settlements to join the main herds ranging the outlying pastures.

The dichotomous division of the herds is reflected in Jie settlement patterns: a Jie family, like its livestock, is usually divided into two parts for most of the year. The women, children and old people generally remain throughout the year at the permanent settlements clustered within a radius of about 10 miles of Kotido in central Najie. Until the recent westward emigrations noted above took place, it was in this settled area that virtually all agricultural activity went on, and it is here also that most ritual and social activity is focused. Young men and older boys (accompanied at times by girls, and visited by the mature men who own the herds) spend most of their time at the stock-camps which move with the herds in their annual treks across Najie.

The permanent settlements (ere, pl. ngireria, termed "homesteads" by Gulliver) are very much self-contained villages in miniature. A great deal of time and effort is expended in their construction, and they are hardly ever abandoned except in the face of a severe drought,

1. The occurrence of tse-tse fly must also have limited Jie grazing in some areas in the past. Unfortunately my enquiries about tse-tse areas elicited very little data. Except for broad statements that "some places in the west" were traditionally tse-tse areas, most Jie informants seemed unable to provide any information.



a widespread famine, hostile incursions by enemies, or as a means of escaping a supernatural misfortune which the members of a homestead believe that particular location has brought them.

In the past, it is probable that most Jie clans occupied a single homestead. This is still true for some of the smaller clans, but it is more usual now for a homestead to accommodate a single extended family (termed simply "Family" by Gulliver), although it is common to find only part of a large extended family, or, conversely, several small families resident in a single homestead. A typical homestead often contains a hundred or more individuals.<sup>1</sup>

The Jie consider an extended family to be all the agnatic descendants of a common grandfather. This extended family is further broken down into what Gulliver terms "houses" (the descendants of a common grandmother), and the houses into "yards" (a wife, and her children, of one of the current adult members of the extended family).

An ere complex is completely surrounded by a palisade of interwoven branches. Within the palisade, each "yard" generally has its own enclosure, so that, from the air, an ere gives the impression of a series of interlocking circles, all encompassed by a larger circle.<sup>2</sup> The constituent "houses" of an ere usually have their own gate, and there are usually several stock enclosures located in the middle of the complex. Dwellings are constructed of mud and wattle, plastered inside with cow dung, and covered with roofs of "terraced"

1. A close examination of Jie clans, as well as territorial divisions, follows below in Chapter Two.
2. See Gulliver (1955) op.cit., pp.72-75 for an aerial diagram and the listing of the composite population of a typical Jie ere.





Plate I (above): A Jie homestead (ere) showing the central cattle kraal and individual "yards" of the complex.



Plate II (left): An entrance into a homestead through the outer palisade.



thatching. Apart from these dwellings, there are usually wicker granaries, grinding stones, enclosures for small animals, and perhaps a few small shrines in each yard's enclosure.

The ere is built with matters of defence very much in mind. The outer palisade is usually seven or eight feet high and extremely difficult to scale or breach. Gates (except the main gate of the central stock enclosure) are never more than three feet high, and require anyone seeking entry to do so on hands and knees. Gates can be shut with large thorn branches, and the low door-ways of the windowless dwellings can be closed with wicker doors. Small, partly open huts are built to accommodate young fighting men at positions from which the stock enclosures can be effectively guarded.

An ere usually forms part of a cluster of homesteads belonging to one clan. Gulliver aptly terms such a cluster a "clan hamlet". An ere is seldom built out of sight of another homestead, and virtually never beyond hailing distance of one.

The temporary stock camps (awi, pl. ngauvoi) built by the younger men in charge of the transhumant movements of livestock back and forth across Najie bear little resemblance to the permanent homesteads. The camps tend to be only very temporary, especially during the early parts of the dry season when frequent movement is essential. Camps are hardly ever more than a series of low rings of thorn to enclose the stock, and perhaps a hastily constructed hut of branches and grass to provide some shelter for the herdsmen. The camps tend to take on a slightly more permanent aspect when, at the end of the dry season, they are concentrated for longer periods around the water points in

the west, but in no case do they ever approach the permanence of the homesteads.

Jie informants indicate that this dichotomous division of families between the permanent homestead and temporary cattle-camp is the traditional settlement pattern which has been in effect since at least the middle of the eighteenth century. Informants do state, however, that in major crises (such as the great rinderpest epidemic of the late nineteenth century) large numbers of Jie were sometimes forced to abandon the settled heartland of Najie to move to outlying areas for a year or two in search of food and water. It would seem clear, however, that large-scale abandoning of the permanent homesteads was extremely rare, and never entire.<sup>1</sup>

During times of major crisis two additional means of subsistence, hunting and gathering, play especially important roles in Jie economic life.

- 1 Gulliver (1955), op.cit., p. 18, indicates that in pre-Colonial times the Jie system of annual transhumance involved the entire population. I feel that Gulliver's statements must have been engendered by Jie testimony relating to those rare occasions when a crisis made nearly universal transhumance necessary.

Comments made by H.M. Tufnell, one of the first British officials to visit Najie, seem to indicate that in the early years of this century a larger proportion of the Jie population were transhumant than at present, but that universal transhumance was not practiced. In his report of 4th October, 1911, Tufnell states: "(The Jie) have their permanent villages which they occupy in the rainy season and they only move about in dry weather when water becomes scarce. Even then their villages are never entirely deserted." EA-2119.



Jie traditions recall great herds of wild animals ranging in many parts of Najie in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it is not uncommon even now to see small herds of gazelle, hartebeeste, giraffe and other game within a few miles of the heart of the settled area. The Jie traditionally hunted smaller animals with throwing sticks and large animals (including even elephant and rhino) with spears. Snares and other traps were also less frequently employed for big game. Hunts were often co-operatively organised by entire territorial divisions (large settlement units, described in the following chapter), the bag divided among all participants.<sup>1</sup> Game Department regulations and dwindling numbers of animals have curtailed Jie hunting activity in recent years. Although large animals are seldom hunted any more, young men still organise co-operative hunts for small game.

An extensive variety of wild fruits, roots, tubers, leaves, pods and barks were (and still are) gathered by Jie of both sexes.<sup>2</sup> Such wild foods provide valuable additions to the diets of Jie resident both at the permanent homesteads and at the cattle camps.

The importance of wild foods and game meat in Jie subsistence is directly proportional to the annual yield of cultivated crops and

1 Some Jie informants claimed that a type of fish able to survive during the dry season by burrowing deep into dry river beds to find moisture were occasionally caught by the Jie, but fishing plays no very important role in Jie subsistence.

2 See Wilson, J.G., "The Vegetation of Karamoja District, Northern Region, Uganda", Memoirs of the Research Division, Uganda Department of Agriculture, Series 2, No. 5, 1962, for a nearly exhaustive listing of the almost incredible variety of wild foods commonly gathered in Karamoja.

the domestic herds. While hunting and gathering activities go on almost constantly, their importance ranges from merely that of a rather pleasant pastime and a means of collecting additional dietary variation in a "good" year, to that of a grim economic necessity in years of crop failure or livestock disasters.<sup>1</sup> These activities

consistently offer an alternative to the Jie mixed economy subject to the dramatic environmental vicissitudes of Najie.

Such projects as Webster's and others were deviations from the more usual research projects based on oral history which had been previously carried out in the area.

The Central Paraniotic-speaking peoples of eastern Africa have so far received very little attention from historians. At the time of my arrival in Najie, no systematic historical research had been undertaken among the Jie, or among any of the other Paraniotic-speaking peoples whose territory borders Najie. Even the Lwo-speaking groups neighbouring western Najie had received only cursory historical investigation.

Just prior to the commencement of my own work, Professor J. B. Webster of Makerere University, directing a team of Makerere research students, had completed a survey of the oral traditions of the Central Paraniotic-speaking Iteso, who live a good distance southwest

1. Raiding and commercial activity also can be seen as additional means of subsistence for the Jie. The former is primarily a means of securing livestock, and the latter primarily a means of obtaining agricultural foods. As both these activities will be thoroughly examined below, I note them only in passing here.

Supplies of posho distributed as famine relief by the Government of Uganda in recent years may be seen as a final source of Jie subsistence. As the amount of posho on hand for distribution is never very large, it is given out to only the poorest Jie families during especially bad years.



of Najie, beyond the Nyakwai and Bokora Karimojong; and John Tosh, a colleague from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, was nearing the completion of a research project among the Langi, western neighbours of the Labwor, whose oral traditions strongly indicated some past connection with Central Paraniotes.

Such projects as Webster's and Tosh's were deviations from the more usual research projects based on oral history which had been previously carried out in East Africa, in which the more strongly centralized (and usually Bantu-speaking) societies had received by far the most attention. Nevertheless, the work of Webster and Tosh, as well as such earlier work as Jacobs' among the Pastoral Maasai, Ogot's among the Southern Lwo, Were's among the Abaluyia, and Muriuki's among the Kikuyu, had shown that rich oral history existed in societies without what should strictly be termed "state organisation", thus verifying Vansina's feeling that "historical research carried out in depth in societies without state organisation might reveal much more of their history than has been commonly supposed to be possible." <sup>1</sup>

With the notable exception of Jacobs' work with the Pastoral Maasai, however, almost no historical research had been undertaken amongst the more pastorally oriented peoples of East Africa. Because of their segmentary social structures and their age- or generation-set systems, these groups appeared to present rather specialised and difficult problems to historical investigation amongst them.

1. Vansina, J., Oral Tradition. London, 1965, p.173

Many of these groups, including at least four Central Paraniotic-speaking ones, had been studied by social anthropologists, from whose points of view the possibility of effective historical research amongst them seemed remote indeed.<sup>1</sup> Of all these observers, Dyson-Hudson held perhaps the most definite views on the impossibility of serious historical research amongst the Central Paraniotes. He writes:

..... as far as indirect knowledge (of the past) is concerned the Karimojong themselves are of little explicit help, since they either incapsulate the past into present relationships or release their hold on it altogether.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of such opinions, a few writers had attempted (largely by the use of oral traditions) to reconstruct at least a skeletal outline of Jie and other Central Paraniotic history, concentrating their attention on the origins of the various Central Paraniotic tribes.

Professor Gulliver, who spent a longer time in Najie and undoubtedly went relatively deeper into Jie oral traditions than any other previous writer, reconstructed a picture in which the proto-Jie are seen to be part of a concentration of peoples he terms "the Karimojong Cluster", originally based on the Mago Hills in what is now Matheniko County in the north eastern part of the area inhabited by the Karimojong. At the Apule River, not far to the south-west of

1. The Jie and the Turkana were studied by P. H. Gulliver, the Karimojong by N. Dyson-Hudson, and the Dodos by E. Marshall Thomas, who, although a journalist rather than a social anthropologist, used a basically anthropological approach to her work.
2. Dyson-Hudson, *op.cit.* p.258. Gulliver held very similar views concerning the Jie, and, with the best of intentions, tried at one point to dissuade me from undertaking my proposed project at all.



The Magos Hills, the proto-Jie are supposed to have broken away by force from their "fathers", the Karimojong, thus earning for themselves the sobriquet "Ngijie" (the fighting people). Moving back to the north-east, the Jie supposedly established themselves at Koten Hill, some miles north of the Magos Hills, and here a group of them, ultimately to become the Turkana, are said to have

broken away peacefully, and descended the escarpment into the Tarash valley. Gulliver estimated that this happened not later than 1750-1800..

According to Gulliver's reconstruction, the departure of the Turkana was followed by the westward exodus from Karamoja of a number of peoples including the ancestors of the Lango and Labwor, as well as ancestral elements of the Iteso. This exodus supposedly allowed the Jie themselves to move westwards from Koten into the area vacated by the emigrants around present Kotido in central Najie. In Gulliver's view, as the Jie moved west, the Dodos split

1. Gulliver's reconstruction can be found in the following of his works: "The Karamojong Cluster", Africa, XXII, 1952; (with Pamela Gulliver) The Central Nilo-Hamites, London 1953; "The Teso and the Karamojong Cluster", U.J. 20, 1956.

In the last of these articles, Gulliver reasserts his view that evidence is lacking to suppose (as did J.C.D. Lawrance in "A History of Teso to 1937", U.J. 19, 1955) that the Iteso were once together with the Jie and the other tribes of the "Karamojong Cluster". The controversy dates back to at least 1953, when Lawrance published "The Karamojong Cluster: A Note" in Africa, XXXIII. As questions raised by this controversy have direct bearing on my Ch. III, below, I note it here.

Gulliver's estimate of 1800 as the date of the Toposa break-away from the Jie is very close to the date of 1780 or 1790 estimated by A.C. Beaton in L.F. Nalder (ed), A Tribal Survey of Mongalla Province, London, 1937, p. 67, and in "Record of the Toposa Tribe", SNR, XXXI, 1950, p.131. Central Paraniotes



peacefully from the Karimojong (settled still at Apule) and moved northwards to their present area. At approximately the same time, the Toposa (and possibly the Jiye of the Sudan) broke away from the Jie, and also moved north to their present area, at a date which Gulliver estimates at 1800.

This reconstruction of the history of Jie origins has become the "standard" one, used in virtually all writing since the early 1950's, and during that time it seems to have been critically examined by only one observer. In an unpublished paper, "Historical Relations Among the Central Nilo-Hamites", presented at Makerere Institute of Social Research in 1968, Nobuhire Nagashima, a social anthropologist working among the Iteso, undertook to examine and analyse all the oral traditions of Central Paraniotes which had been recorded up to that time. After a thorough examination, Nagashima concluded that the primordial Central Paraniotes were originally based not on the Mages Hills, but further east, down the escarpment in present-day Turkana District in Kenya. Here, he suggests, one group of Turkana remained behind while the rest of the Central Paraniotes climbed the escarpment and, in accordance with Gulliver's view, dispersed to form the various tribal groups.

To Nagashima, the Iteso are definitely seen to have originally been part of the primordial Central Paraniotes, while the Langi are assumed to have been either the vanguard of that group, or perhaps a group directly related to the Jie. Finally, Nagashima concludes, a group which was to become Turkana split from the Jie at Koten and descended the escarpment to join with a pre-existing group - those Turkana who had remained behind when the primordial Central Paraniotes climbed the escarpment in the first place. Despite his reinterpretation of some of the data, Nagashima's reconstruction does not differ



to have dispersed: the Dodos and Toposa moving off to the north, very radically from Gulliver's, and indeed many discrepancies between the Turkana further east and about the movement into Kenya, the two centre on simply the order in which various groups broke away from a "Karamojong Cluster" somewhere in eastern Karamoja.

Where radically different reconstruction of early Jie history does occur is in the writing of Fr. J. P. Crazzolara. To Crazzolara, the "aboriginal" inhabitants of north-eastern Uganda were two groups of linguistically related peoples whom he terms the "Western Lango" and the "Eastern Lango", the latter being the ancestors of the present Central Paraniotic-speaking peoples. Perhaps seven or eight centuries ago, Crazzolara feels that a large-scale Madi invasion swept over much of the territory of the "Western Lango", most of whom were either absorbed or destroyed, except for a few who probably fell back to the east to join their eastern "brothers", whose territory extended eastwards from modern Kitgum in Acholi District. This was followed from the mid-sixteenth century by the advent of the Lwo who imposed their culture and leadership on the now predominantly Madi population in the former "Western Lango" territory, and created still more pressures on the beleaguered western frontier of the "Eastern Lango".

Relying on a study of place and clan-names in north-eastern Uganda, extensive research into Lwo and Madi historical traditions, and a series of conversations with elders living near various Roman Catholic Missions in Karamoja, Crazzolara concludes that the Jie, Dodos, Turkana and Toposa represent displaced "Eastern Lango" populations gradually forced back to the east into the heart of Karamoja from their invaded homelands further west. In Karamoja, the various "Eastern Lango" elements are supposed

to have dispersed: the Dodos and Toposa moving off to the north, the Turkana further east and down the escarpment into Kenya, the Karimojong (who, in Crazzolara's view, represented one of the eastern-most of the "Eastern Lango" groups) southwards from their previous home in northern Karamoja into their present country, and the Jie remaining in the Kotido area of central Najie.<sup>1</sup>

Far from presenting any clear picture of early Jie history, then, previous reconstructions seem diametrically opposed: Gulliver and Nagashima seeing the Jie arrive in Najie from the east, and Crazzolara seeing them arrive from the west. In light of this, Dyson-Hudson's contention that effective historical research cannot be carried on at all among the peoples of Karamoja would seem to take on additional weight.

And yet, my own researches into Jie oral history brought to light not only a feasible solution to the problem of Jie origins raised by the work of Gulliver and Crazzolara, but also a whole storehouse of oral tradition bearing on virtually all aspects of Jie history for at least the past 250 years. It is hoped that this thesis will, in itself, attest to the richness and the quantity of these traditions. To understand the methodological approaches which elicited these traditions, it will first be necessary to examine in some depth the Jie socio-political structure, for it is within this structure (and indeed in some instances because of this structure) that Jie oral history is maintained and passed on from generation to generation.

1 Crazzolara, Fr. J.P., "Notes on the Lango-Omiru and on the Labwoor and Nyakwai", Anthropos, 55, 1960.



## CHAPTER II

## RECONSTRUCTING JIE HISTORY: THE TRANSMISSION, DATING, AND COLLECTION OF ORAL TRADITIONS

On all levels of the Jie social structure can be found strongly corporate groups with very real feelings of unique identity, overtly expressed in their individual unitary participation in ritual and other activity. These groups, including moieties, territorial divisions, and clans are of key importance to the oral historian because each is the repository of its own oral traditions, perpetuated entirely within that group, either as a whole, or by its constituent parts. It is imperative that the historian be aware of the structure, and variations which occur at several levels of that structure, if he is competently to collect and analyse these traditions.

The permanently settled area of Najie is divided into two political moieties<sup>1</sup>, each leading a largely autonomous existence.

1. In the fairly recent past, some social anthropologists have used the term "moiety" to describe descent groups. It should be emphasised, however, that I am using the phrase "political moiety" to describe a territorial unit, rather than a group linked in any way by ties of common descent. I feel that I am reasonably justified in using this terminology, as the English word "moiety" was originally often used to describe constituent divisions of a geographical area, such as a manor or island, as is attested to by The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles (Third Edition, Oxford 1970). I have avoided the use of any alternative term such as "sub-tribe", because (as hopefully this thesis will demonstrate) the inter-relationship between Lokorwakol and Rengen was not static, but varied from that of two largely separate entities, to that of two loosely allied confederates, to that of two constituent sub-divisions of a more integrated community, at various points in the Jie historical experience.

Numerically and territorially the larger of the moieties is Lokorwakol (the people of which are called "Ngikorwakol") which occupies basically the southern and eastern parts of the settled area, while Rengen (sometimes referred to as "Lokaloding", and the people "Ngikaloding"), the second moiety, occupies the north-west (see Map 2). Each moiety traditionally organises its generation-set (asapanu) system independently of the other, and appoints its own hereditary fire-makers (ngikeworok, s. ekeworon) and (until the end of the nineteenth century) its own hereditary war-leaders. Each functions independently in ritual matters, and dry-season grazing and watering patterns are carried out, for the most part, separately. Only in times of dire crisis (usually of a military nature) have the two moieties traditionally worked in close concert.<sup>1</sup>

1 Logwela and Kere, J-125

There is not the same emblematic association with certain animals by the Jie moieties as Dyson-Hudson describes (op. cit. pp. 127-32) for the Karimojong "sections". Both Jie moieties do have a ritual association with the ratel (ekor) and, unlike the Karimojong, there is a strong prohibition against killing it. One territorial division of the Rengen have a further vague association with rock hyraxes and a certain type of black snake. In no case, however, are the members of any Jie grouping known collectively by the name of their emblematic animal. The food taboos observed by certain Jie clans (described below) are again entirely different from the Karimojong emblematic association.

There was indeed a further territorial division of Lokorwakol, and a Jie age-set was sponsored by the latter division. Although I have consistently tried to avoid it, I am sure that my interpretation of Jie history and social organisation is, in certain respects, unfortunately, but due to the circumstances, largely avoidable.



In their dealings with outsiders, the Jie make little distinction between the moieties: a man is "thoroughly Jie" be he from Rengen or Lokorwakol. Within Najie itself, however, the distinction between the moieties is of much more importance, and indeed many of the Jie of Lokorwakol have a tendency to regard themselves as the "real Jie", and to view the Rengen as an immigrant population descended from non-Jie ancestors.<sup>1</sup> There are also slight dialectical differences between the moieties, and again Lokorwakol Jie often claim that their dialect is "proper Ajie", and that the Rengen "speak like Dodos".

During times of major ritual functions, such as the inauguration of a new asapanu or the performance of the New Fire ceremony, the moieties most overtly exhibit their corporate nature. Each moiety has its own ritual grove (akiriket) which is the focal point for its own independent ritual activity. Visitors from the other moiety attending such major rituals are accorded the status of aliens, and are grouped together with any non-Jie visitors who may be present to witness the ceremony.

Most Jie claim that it is impossible for a group, or even an

- 1 As far as I know, no Rengen hold the opposite view that they, to the exclusion of the Lokorwakol Jie, are the "real" Jie. At this point it should be noted, however, that rather more of my research was carried out in Lokorwakol than in Rengen. Our home was located in the Kotido territorial division of Lokorwakol, and my initiation into a Jie age-set was sponsored by the Lokwor clan of that division. Although I have consistently tried to avoid it, I am sure that my interpretation of Jie history must have a certain Lokorwakol bias, which is unfortunate, but, under the circumstances, largely unavoidable.

Key  
Moiety boundaries  
Territorial divisions  
boundaries  
Bokora  
Karimojong  
Totor  
Matheniko  
Karimojong  
These territorial divisions on the  
outlying parts of the settled area are not  
thought to have any definite outer boundaries.)



The Moieties and  
Territorial divisions  
of Najie

↑  
DODOS

Koten Hill →  
(about 25 miles  
from Kotido)





individual, to change membership from one moiety to the other.<sup>1</sup>

A frequent example cited to support this is the case of the group of clans called "Kadokini" which came from Rengen to settle in the Panyangara territorial division of Lokorwakol at least four generations ago (1800-1840). Despite their long residence in Lokorwakol, the Kadokini are still considered to belong to Rengen, and either perform their rituals separately from the other Panyangara in their adopted area, or else return to Rengen to perform them with their "brothers". In the words of some Lokorwakol informants:

These people came here from Rengen. They are not Panyangara. They are not Ngikorwakol. They perform their ceremonies alone in their own place and never with the other Panyangara. The Panyangara can attend their ceremonies as visitors, and they can attend ours as visitors. But they just come and watch and are given beer and meat, and then they go away.<sup>2</sup>

Each moiety is in turn broken down into a number of named territorial divisions<sup>3</sup> which occupy a specific and well-defined area within each moiety (see Map 2 and Figure 1). River or stream beds usually mark the boundaries between territorial divisions, but even in those few cases where no natural boundary exists, the people of the areas concerned are invariably aware of exactly where one division ends and another begins. There are seven territorial divisions for

1. There do seem to be a few very rare cases, admittedly involving very small groups, where it has happened, however.
2. Longok (Apacelem), Ekongor and Lothike (Elawa), J-29.
3. Gulliver termed these "districts". To avoid possible confusion with the modern Government use of the term "district" and to emphasise their territorial nature, I have adopted the term "territorial division". Gulliver did not choose to regard Rengen as a separate moiety, but classified it simply as a "district". Nor does he mention Lokorwakol as a specific unit of Jie society. He does, however, clearly indicate that in many ways the Rengen are quite distinct from the other "districts".

FIGURE 1

Jie Territorial Divisions and Clans

The Territorial divisions of each moiety are indicated by Roman numerals, sub-territories by capital letters, clans by Arabic numbers, and sub-clans by small letters.

LOKORWAKOL MOIETY

## I. Kotiang

## A. Kadukan

1. Toroi
2. Kadukok
- a. Pading

## B. Loonei or Remokwori

1. Lopongo
- a. Kalooi
2. Kaekar
3. Oyarot
4. Oyakol

## C. Lokinit

1. Kaekar
2. Kakuloi

(Independent related clans)

1. Kulok
2. Lokwor
3. Ngadakori

## II. Losilang

## A. Lojoo

1. Jimos
- a. Kalolet
- B. Nayese
2. Kathewok
3. Moruonger) sub-clans of
- b. Locoto ) Toroi, settled
- in Lojoo

## B. Mirethiae

1. Toroi
2. Lokatap
3. Mamulope
4. Poet
5. Lodera (from Kotido)

## III. Kanawat

## A. Lobal or Lokore

1. Ngikakere
2. Tesiyo
3. Nyakwai

B. 1. Ngikeinyak or Longelep  
(sub-territory & clan)

2. Lokatap
3. Tesiyo
- a. Lomampocet
4. Toroi
- a. Meriwala
5. Nayese
6. Natelo (from Panyangara)

## IV. Komukuny

## A. 1. Loposa (sub-territory &amp; clan)

B. 1. Lodera (sub-territory & clan)  
2. JimosV. Kotido (clans and sub-territories  
are the same)A. 1. Loser  
a. Mamukinei  
b. Nadipal  
c. Logole  
d. MagosB. 1. Lokwor  
a. Lokiding  
b. Lodipoi  
c. Longelep

## C. 1. Lokatap

D. 1. Losogot  
a. PoetE. 1. Lokocil  
a. Loperdu  
b. Tamathokori

## F. 1. Cedmeu or Longerep



Figure 1 continued

## VI Panyangara

A. 1. Kapuyon or Lokore

B. 1. Lodoca

a. Lomukura

b. Lojom

C. 1. Loletio

a. Loperdu

D. Riamiriam

1. Sinotoi

a. Ngikaloding

2. Mamulope

3. Kimula

E. Rikital

1. Jimos

2. Poet

F. Kadokini (sub-territory and group of clans from Rengen)

Independent clans not part of a named sub-territory

1. Ila

2. Natelo

3. Kapwor

4. Gule

## B. Kadoca

1. Karewok or Kareu

a. Magos

2. Loru

a. Lokocil

3. Kalokori

4. Kalobur

5. Lokore

## C. Lokokorok

(Oyapua group of clans)

1. Kalebur

a. Oyakwara

b. Ngolemonu

2. Jimos

3. Cakalomun

4. Longerep

5. Nyakwai

## D. Potongor

1. Longelep

2. Lokocil

3. Lopao

4. Liwa

5. Lomus

6. Kalia

## VII Nakapelimoru

A. Wotokau

A<sub>1</sub> Ngerepo Group of Clans

1. Ngikalogwala

2. Ngikalogwang

3. Nyakwei or Rogom or Mazula  
or PalakwaA<sub>2</sub> Thiokol Group of Clans

4. Poet

a. Aonyot

5. Hairwata

6. Karewok or Kareu

7. Lokore

8. Nathinyon

**FIGURE 1 continued**

the following order: Lotiang; Lodiang; Kameari; Kameany; Lotido; **RENGEN MOIETY**

Panyangara and Nakapellimora. Rengen has four territorial divisions

which should probably be listed in this order (although the positions

of the 1. Kalolet or Lodoi or Ngikalodioki

2. Wotokau

3. Kapalokadong

4. Poet

5. Lunguto

6. Orom

7. Ladoket

8. Nimula

**II Kadwoma**

1. Lokadeli

2. Kapwor

a. Lotubo

b. Ratai

3. Gelangole

4. Cilapus

5. Lomejan

6. Nariwo

7. Lobore

**III Kapelok**

1. Ngikalopetum

2. Loperdu or Lodorio

3. Nayese

4. Tesiyo

5. Ladoket

**IV Calcaon**

1. Korimunyaen

2. Nayese

3. Nimula

4. Lopetae

5. Ngikalogwel

6. Kokoria

7. Kanameriongor

8. Karewok

a. Nabwalin

9. Kwaiuro



generation system are among the important ritual functions commonly carried on at the level of the territorial division. Some territorial divisions even have ceremonies unique to themselves, as a further expression of their corporate nature. An example is the "spearing of the river", performed only by the Panyangara of Lokorwakol, which (for reasons outlined below) should be listed in the following order: Kotiang; Losilang; Kanawat; Komukuny; Kotido; Panyangara and Nakapelimoru. Rengen has four territorial divisions which should probably be listed in this order (although the positions of the last three are uncertain): Lokatap; Kadwoman; Kapelok and Caicaon.<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of the relatively few moiety-wide ceremonies, most important Jie ritual activity is performed individually by the territorial divisions, each of which has its own ritual grove or groves. Rain-making rituals, the ceremonies of angola (a blessing of the people in times of stress) and akiwodokin (to bless the livestock, or to "free" them to go to the cattle camps at the onset of the dry season), and the inauguration of age-sets within the

- 1 Reasons for the uncertainty concerning the exact order of the Rengen divisions are outlined below.

Traditionally there was a fifth Rengen division, Ladoket, which is now incorporated in Kapelok. See Chapter VI.

It is difficult to estimate the populations of the various territorial divisions, as the most recent census was compiled by sub-county, the modern unit which corresponds only in part to the traditional territorial division. Rengen sub-county, comprising the four Rengen territorial divisions, plus the Kotiang division of Lokorwakol had the largest population of 12,747. Next was Kotido sub-county comprising Kotido, Losilang and Kanawat divisions, plus Kotido township with a mainly non-Jie population, for a total of 11,947. This was followed by Panyangara sub-county, which includes Panyangara and Komukuny territorial divisions, with a population of 5,136. The smallest was Nakapelimoru sub-county, the only one corresponding to a single territorial division, with a population of 3,510. Jie informants seemed to have little idea of the relative size of the territorial divisions in the past, although there seemed to be a general feeling that Panyangara, Nakapelimoru and possibly Lokatap were the largest, and Kotiang, Komukuny and Kapelok the smallest.



generation system are among the important ritual functions commonly carried on at the level of the territorial division. Some territorial divisions even have ceremonies unique to themselves, as a further expression of their corporate nature. An example is the "Spearing of the River", performed only by the Panyangara of Lokorwakol:

The Panyangara 'spear the river' when the 'land is heavy' (e.g. in times of trouble). All the Panyangara go to the sacred place there at the river. They go alone. Not even the Komukuny (the near neighbours of the Panyangara) go with them. When the Panyangara go to the river, other people know us, and they say, "There are the Panyangara."<sup>1</sup>

Most of the territorial divisions also have their own military leaders who (from the late nineteenth century, at any rate) served as lieutenants to the moiety-wide war-leaders. From the late nineteenth century, the territorial divisions were also the basic unit of military organization, each contributing its own "battalion" which occupied a specific place in the line of battle. Most territorial divisions also have their own hereditary ngikeworok (fire-makers) who serve as assistants to the chief ekeworon of each moiety.

It is possible for Jie to change membership from one territorial division to another within the same moiety, although such a change appears to have taken place only very infrequently, and usually over a considerable period of time. One example of such a change is that of two branches of the Lokocil clan of Kotido which moved to Nakapelimoru in the distant past, and are now considered to belong to their adopted territorial division in every sense, although still recalling their Kotido origin.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, a branch of the

1. Lothike (Elawa), J-131

2. Locan, J-47 and Amuk (Akitibuin) J-89



Toroi clan of Kanawat which settled in Kotiang two generations ago are still referred to as "those people from Kanawat" by their Kotiang neighbours, and still return to Kanawat for participation in ritual observances.<sup>1</sup>

Much of an individual's social intercourse takes place with members of his own territorial division, although men commonly establish "bond friendships",<sup>2</sup> with men of other territorial divisions as well as their own. There also appears to be a slight preference to marry out of one's own territorial division, although the divisions themselves are in no way exogamous groups.<sup>3</sup> In the past, it is probable that at various times, many of the territorial divisions were grouped together into a compact cluster of "clan hamlets", as is still the case, for example, with the Wotokau sub-territory of the Nakapelimoru division. Finally, there is even a tendency to ascribe certain generalized attributes to the people of a territorial division. Thus, the Panyangara and the Nakapelimoru are considered by almost all Jie as the foremost fighting men, and the Lokatap are considered by many to be especially good diviners (ngikerujak)<sup>4</sup>.

1. Lower (Elizeo), J-106.

2. "Bond-friendship" is a relationship entered into by non-kinsmen to establish reciprocal stock rights between them. It is discussed fully by Gulliver (1955) op.cit., pp. 209-12.

3. Lokong (Israel), J-97.

4. Lotiang (and others), J-27 and Lopacure, J-121

1. With the Bengon, the situation is more complex. They seem to have two ritual groves where the ceremonies can take place, and the order of their divisions depends on which ritual grove is used. Invariably, however, Lokatap appears to be ranked first and Gaisoon last, no matter which grove is used.

2. Bryan-Hudson, op.cit. p. 57. As is pointed out below, there is also a "ranking" of the constituent clans of each Jie territorial division.



As noted above, the territorial divisions are invariably listed in a definite and universally accepted order. This order is demonstrable on a number of important moiety-wide ritual occasions. For example, when all the territorial divisions of Lokorwakol come together for an angola or akiwodokin ceremony, representative groups of each pass through an improvised "gate" in the order listed above, so that the Kotiang go first; and the Nakapelimoru last.<sup>1</sup> At rituals where the spearing of oxen takes place, the same order holds, with Kotiang spearing its ox first and Nakapelimoru last. Again, with the inauguration of a new asapanu, (generation-set), the first initiates spear their initiation animals in accordance with the same order. For many of rituals, there is never any feeling that it is in any

Dyson-Hudson has identified a similar sort of "rank" among the clans of the Karimojong, and, according to his information, this ranking is determined by the order in which the clans settled in the Karimojong area. Thus, the first participants in rituals similar to those of the Jie are thought to be "the clans who long ago were first in the land", while those which follow behind are "former enemies of the Karimojong who were defeated and absorbed into the society".<sup>2</sup>

1. Although rather different in its expression, the Jie rationale for the "ranking" of their territorial divisions is also based on the seniority of their groups. The rank of the Lokorwakol territorial divisions is traditionally based on the order in which they settled in their present areas from a concentration in Kotiang. Thus, the

1. With the Rengen, the situation is more complex. They seem to have two ritual groves where the ceremonies can take place, and the order of their divisions depends on which ritual grove is used. Invariably, however, Lokatap appears to be ranked first and Caicaon last, no matter which grove is used.
2. Dyson-Hudson, op.cit., p.89. As is pointed out below, there is also a "ranking" of the constituent clans of each Jie territorial division.



first group of emigrants from Kotiang are supposed to have settled Losilang; the second group, Kanawat; and so on. For the Rengen, the territorial divisions are ranked in the order in which they settled in the area around Lokatap Rock, the focal point of Lokatap, the senior territorial division.

It should be pointed out that the rank of the territorial divisions is of little political or even psychological significance. While the Kotiang and Losilang territorial divisions of Lokorwakol and the Lokatap of Rengen seem to be universally accorded a certain vague respect solely on the basis of their high order in the performance of rituals, there is never any feeling that it is in any way more prestigious to belong to one territorial division rather than another. Obviously the real significance of the ranking is that it further underlines the strong corporate feelings of each division.<sup>1</sup>

Each territorial division is sub-divided into a number of smaller units which I term "sub-territories".<sup>2</sup> In some territorial

1. There does seem to be a certain vague resentment on the part of the Panyangara of the relatively higher rank of their numerically smaller neighbours, the Komukuny, whom they tend to dominate in some ways. The rivalry between the Panyangara and the Komukuny is a long-standing one and led to the only internecine conflict between Jie groups recalled in oral tradition. See Ch.VII below.
2. Gulliver termed them "settlements". Jie group-terminology tends to be extremely vague: a moiety is simply termed "a part of Najie" (agule anajie), a territorial division is termed "a part of Lokorwakol" (agule analokorwakol) or "a part of Rengen" (agule anarengen), and a sub-territory (for example, Lokore of Kanawat) "a part of Kanawat" (agule anakawat).

divisions, such as Kotido, each sub-territory is inhabited by a single large clan, and in such divisions feelings of sub-territorial corporate unity are strong.<sup>1</sup> As shall be noted below, clans are the basic units in the performance of much ritual activity and their corporate nature is reinforced by ties of (at least pseudo) kinship in many instances. An example of the synonymity of clan and sub-territory in Kotido is Loser, the sub-territory in which much of Kotido township is built, which was traditionally inhabited by Loser clan (the people are called "Ngiseera"). The sub-territory is further divided into the homestead areas of the four Loser sub-clans (see Fig.1). In the case of Loser, these sub-clans, rather than the clan as a whole, are the exogamous units. But in the words of a member of the clan:

Long ago the Loser were all relatives, but then, in the course of time, we divided into separate groups, and now we are not really related and we marry each other's daughters. Still we remember that we were once related, and we are still one people and we own one area.<sup>2</sup>

1. Gulliver (1955), op.cit., p.10 gives a good description of such sub-territories (presumably based on Kotido).
2. Lokong (Israel), J-97.

During my stay in Najie, the Loser exhibited their corporate solidarity on a Kotido ritual occasion. One of the Loser sub-clans had been squabbling with some of the other Kotido groups, and although the other three sub-clans were in no way concerned by the squabble, the elders of the entire clan absented themselves en masse from an important convocation of Kotido elders to demonstrate support of their clansmen. (J-Rit.-1)



ate groups in Jie society, although it is often difficult to understand

With other territorial divisions, however, the sub-territory (uncertainly to describe) a Jie clan. The Jie themselves usually is often composed not of one clan, but of a number of completely unrelated clans which simply happen to be settled together in one (pl. *ngatkerin*) is an observance or prohibition which often, but by no particular area. These sub-territories invariably lack the same means always, has to do with marriage observances and clothing corporate feeling of a group such as Loser, as can be seen in the regulations for brides and married women. Every clan has a number case of the Lojoo sub-territory of Losilang. Within Lojoo are of *ngatkerin*, and refer typical ones of four clans are given as an settled two clans, Jimos and Kathewok, who have lived as neighbours example in Figure 2. Jie informants almost invariably stated that in Lojoo for a very long time, but do not consider themselves

descended from even a putative common source. While they frequently

1. Social anthropologists have long pointed out that there has been share a water-hole, which they dug in common in Lojoo, and use one stated that the people of a clan, unlike those of a lineage group, ritual grove for the performance of much of their ritual activity, ancestor, but also noted that "the term clan... should be used only a great deal of their ritual activity is conducted independently. regard one another as in some sense kinship". (Hodgkin-Also inhabiting Lojoo are two other groups, Maruengor and Locoto, marriage, London, 1950, pp. 39-40). Jie *ngatkerin* correspond to which are in fact sub-clans of the Toroi clan which is settled in groups in which, as Gulliver has noted, such descent is only putative. the other Losilang sub-territory, Merethial (See Fig. 1). These tends to be very shallow, and in most clans descent cannot really Toroi sub-clans immigrated to Lojoo from Merethial and settled as founder of the extended family. (Quite often, however, the name of neighbours with the Jimos and Kathewok. Although now considered their names from that founder, although the names of intervening physically part of Lojoo, these Toroi sub-clans not only perform of many Jie *ngatkerin*, especially the larger ones, tend to regard their ritual activity separately from the other Lojoo groups, but Hodgkin-Grown's use of the word "specific" might be considered by invariably return to the Merethial ritual grove for the performance I have nevertheless decided to follow Gulliver's lead, and to use of their most important ceremonies and initiate their young men

2. together with the Toroi and the other Merethial. and confusing. The term *ngatkerin* is used not only to identify that group I am terming "clan", but is also used in a looser way for "tribe".

Clearly, then, those sub-territories inhabited by a single clan (*ateker*, pl. *ngatkerin*) tend to exhibit the stronger corporate feelings. Indeed, Jie clans are in many ways the most strongly corpor-

3. I am grateful to Dr. Nobunire Sagambwa who, while staying with me in Wajie in 1970, made me fully aware of the importance of a clan's *ngatkerin*.

Each clan also has its own distinguishing livestock brand (*ngatkerin*) which consists of specific patterns burned on the animal's sides, and matches out into their care. The general pattern of the brand is also copied in haircuts given to very young children by many clans. Occasionally Jie informants described a clan as "all the people who share one brand", but more often the brand was merely described as one of the whole range of *ngatkerin* subscribed to by a clan.



ate groups in Jie society, although it is often difficult to understand (and/certainly to describe) a Jie clan.<sup>1</sup> The Jie themselves usually define a clan as "all the people who share one etal".<sup>2</sup> An etal (pl. ngitalia) is an observance or prohibition which often, but by no means always, has to do with marriage observances and clothing regulations for brides and married women. Every clan has a number of ngitalia, and rather typical ones of four clans are given as an example in Figure 2.<sup>3</sup> Jie informants almost invariably stated that

1. Social anthropologists have long pointed out that there has been considerable misuse of the term "clan". Radcliffe-Brown once stated that the people of a clan, unlike those of a lineage group, cannot trace even theoretical descent from a known common ancestor, but also noted that "the term clan... should be used only for a group having unilineal descent in which all the members regard one another as in some specific sense kinfolk". (Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., and Forde, D. (Eds), African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, London, 1950, pp. 39-40). Jie ngatekerin correspond to Radcliffe-Brown's definition in that they are agnatic descent groups in which, as Gulliver has noted, such descent is only putative. Indeed, genealogical depth, except in a few very special cases, tends to be very shallow, and in most clans descent cannot really be traced further back than the grandfather, the at least theoretical founder of the extended family. (Quite often, however, the name of the founder of the whole clan is remembered, and some clans derive their names from that founder, although the names of intervening ancestors have been long forgotten). Nevertheless, the members of many Jie ngatekerin, especially the larger ones, tend to regard themselves only in the vaguest sense as "kinfolk". Thus, while Radcliffe-Brown's use of the word "specific" might be considered by some to preclude many Jie ngatekerin from being classified "clans", I have nevertheless decided to follow Gulliver's lead, and to use the term "clan" for the lack of any satisfactory alternative.
2. Ajie terminology with regard to clans is once again deplorably vague and confusing. The term ateker is used not only to identify that group I am terming "clan", but is also used in a looser way for "tribe", and occasionally even "territorial division". Thus, to ask a Jie for the name of his ateker, the answer "Jie" or "Panyangara" is as likely to be elicited as the name of his clan. Sub-clans are merely termed ngatekerin nguna cicik, meaning 'small parts of clans'.
3. I am grateful to Dr. Nobuhiro Nagashima who, while staying with me in Najie in 1970, made me fully aware of the importance of a clan's ngitalia. Each clan also has its own distinguishing livestock brand (alemacar) which consists of specific patterns burned on the animal's hides, and notches cut into their ears. The general pattern of the brand is also copied in haircuts given to very young children by many clans. Occasionally Jie informants described a clan as "all the people who share one brand", but more often the brand was merely described as one of the whole range of ngitalia subscribed to by a clan.



## FIGURE 2 Ngitalia of Four Jie Clans

such a group is impossible. Very often, however, unrelated clans will

I. Cedmeu of Kotido ngitalia is common: for example, the first

- A. Brides wear aprons made from the tying-straps of the skirt
- B. Brides wear gazelle skin capes
- C. Married women wear calf skin skirts
- D. Cannot eat bushbuck (akoloba)
- E. Perform lobunat (in which an ox is smothered with a woman's apron instead of being speared) as finalization of marriage ceremony

### II. Jimos of Losilang

- A. Brides wear apron made of small sticks (ekalungur)
- B. Married women wear goat skin skirts, trimmed with eland skin
- C. Cannot eat bushbuck
- D. Perform both lobunat and lomalol finalization of marriage ceremonies

### III Lokwor of Lotiang

- A. Brides wear apron of small sticks
- B. Married women wear gazelle skin capes after birth of first child
- C. Married women wear hie skirts trimmed with hartebeest skin
- D. Cannot eat bushbuck or squirrel (loceleku)
- E. Perform both lobunat and lomalol ceremonies
- F. Hair of first child not shaved until birth of second

### IV Kalokori of Nakapelimoru

- A. Brides wear apron of leather thongs (ngarukaneth)
- B. Married women wear goat skin clothing
- C. Can eat any animal
- D. Perform lokidori finalization of marriage ceremony (in which an ox is speared)
- E. Present all the bride-wealth cattle to bride's father at one time (instead of in a number of instalments, in the usual Jie manner)

In such cases, the individual sub-clans also tend to have their own cattle brands which are supposedly just variations on a single basic brand. To my untrained eye, however, the brands often seemed to bear absolutely no resemblance to each other.

"people who share one etal" are "one people", and that marriage within such a group is impossible. Very often, however, unrelated clans will share one or even several ngitalia in common: for example, the first three clans listed in Figure 2 share a common prohibition against eating bushbuck, and yet each can intermarry freely with the other two. Thus it is the whole range of ngitalia subscribed to by a clan which makes it different from any other, and it is to this unique combination that the Jie refer when they speak of a clan sharing "one etal".

Furthermore, the Jie definition does not exactly apply in all instances. As in many other African societies, most of the larger Jie clans are not in fact exogamous groups. For these clans, exogamy is required only of their constituent sub-clans (ngatekerin nguna cicik), each of which subscribes to a slightly different range of ngitalia.

In these cases, it is the sub-clan which "shares one etal", but it is important to note that the clan as a whole is still thought of as "one people", as the statement of the Losogot elder on p. 1 above demonstrates.

There are also a number of Jie clans which have what they themselves term "sub-clans" (ngatekerin nguna cicik), but which are totally unrelated to the clan to which they belong, and subscribe to an entirely different set of ngitalia. In virtually all such cases, these "sub-clans" are in fact alien groups which were "adopted" by a pre-existing Jie clan. An informant of the Poet sub-clan of Losogot of Kotido, whose ancestors came from an originally non-Jie group, provides an example:

1. In such cases, the individual sub-clans also tend to have their own cattle brands which are supposedly just variations on a single basic brand. To my untutored eye, however, the brands often seemed to bear absolutely no resemblance to each other.



(see Fig 1) When the Poet were dispersed at Kalomide, one of my ancestors came here to Kotido to settle. The Losogot were kind to him. They married his daughters and gave him cattle for them, so that he became rich. He settled next to them, and so now my clan is called 'Losogot', as well as 'Poet'. But we are different people from the Losogot. Our etal is different from theirs and we marry their daughters.<sup>1</sup>

Similar to these "adopted" sub-clans are the "groups of clans" found in some territorial divisions, which are usually rather like a loose confederation of clans. For example, the Wotokau sub-territory of Nakapelimoru is made up of two such groups: Ngerepo and Thiokol. As in the case of the Losogot, each group seems to be composed of a pre-existing clan (Ngikalogwala for Ngerepo, and probably Karawok for Thiokol), to which a number of clans from several different areas attached themselves at various times. An elder of the Ngikalogwala clan tells how this was done:

Logwala, one of my ancestors, came here from Koten and was one of the first men to settle in Nakapelimoru. Later, people from Acoli and Nyakwai came and joined my people. Now we are all called 'Ngerepo' together, but the leaders of Ngerepo are still my people, the Ngikalogwala.<sup>2</sup>

There are at least seventy different clans in Najie

1. There are quite possibly a few which I failed to record, as even the best of my informants found it difficult to list all the clans of the existence of the Oke clan of Panyangara only in the last lists of Panyangara clans by many different informants earlier.
1. Lokaler, J-102
2. Loceng (Natwanga) J-83

There are also some instances of a "group of clans" corresponding exactly to a sub-territory. Thus, "Lokokorok" is the name given to an area (sub-territory) of Nakapelimoru territorial division, but the five clans which live within Lokokorok are known collectively as "Oyapua".

Inter-marriage is generally permitted between all the constituents of a "group of clans", although there is often a rather close correspondence between the ranges of ngitalia of these constituent groups. Some which share a common name, either accidentally, or because they came to Najie from a given alien community from which their clan-name has been derived.



(see Fig 1).<sup>1</sup> Most of these are compact clans living entirely within one territorial division, or even sub-territory. At least fifteen (including apparently some of the largest) are dispersed clans, with branches in two or more territorial divisions, and occasionally in two or more sub-territories of the same territorial division. Almost invariably, members of a dispersed clan consider one branch as the original from which the others split off. In some instances, the various branches each subscribe to a slightly different range of ngitalia, but in almost every case, it is the clan as a whole, rather than the individual branches, which remains the exogamous group. An example is provided by an elder of the Panyangara branch of the large Lokore clan which also has branches in Kanawat and Nakapelimoru:

All the Lokore originated in Kanawat, and we all shared one etal. Then our ancestor Napopo came here to Panyangara because he was tired of having to sacrifice so many oxen in Kanawat. He abandoned the old etal that our brides should wear ngadalai aprons and told them to wear ekalungur aprons. He also had the married women give up wearing iron beads on their skirts, in the manner of the Kanawat Lokore. But even though our etal is now different from the other Lokore, we are still one people, and we cannot marry their daughters.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 There are quite possibly a few which I failed to record, as even the best Jie informants found it difficult to list all the clans of their own territorial division. For example, I was made aware of the existence of the Gule clan of Panyangara only in the last days of my research, despite being given a number of "exhaustive" lists of Panyangara clans by many different informants earlier in my research.

Crazzolara, op.cit., pp. 212-13 lists 64 Jie "clans", but many of these are in fact the names of sub-territories, or other locales.

- 2 Longoli (Apanyemage) J-104. The fifteen dispersed clans, their areas of original settlement, and the locations of their various branches are listed in Appendix 3 at the end of this thesis. Also included in that appendix are those clans which share a common name, either accidentally, or because they came to Najie from a given alien community from which their clan-name has been derived.



activity based on the sub-territory or territorial division. Ceremonies  
 In general, the clan exhibits more corporate unity than any larger group existing in Jie society. Loyalty to one's clan can transcend loyalties to the territorial division or sub-territory, as the examples of Loser (footnote, p.64 above) and the sub-clans of Toroi (p.65) have shown. Although in some clans the emphasis may be on the constituent sub-clan or branch (as the examples above have indicated), in by far the majority of cases a clan's unity is expressed in the concept of its being "one people", reinforced (at least theoretically) by its common subscription to "one etal". The ritual observances which form an important part of a clan's ngitalia are usually performed by a clan as a unit, or sometimes by its individual sub-clans or dispersed branches, and certainly there is far more ritual activity at this level than the important, but nonetheless relatively infrequent, ritual activity performed by sub-territory, territorial division or moiety.

Furthermore, it is the clan (or sometimes its constituent parts)<sup>1</sup> which functions as a unit in the performance of ritual

- 1 In a few cases it is the sub-clan which functions as a unit in these rituals. For example, the Mago sub-clan of Loser passes through the "gate" before the other three, which go through as a group toward the end of the order. Most frequently in such cases, it is an "adopted" sub-clan which has an order different from that of the pre-existing clan to which it is attached.

The order in which the constituent clans of a territorial division pass through the "gate" is not quite so clearly established, however, as that of the territorial divisions in the moiety-based ceremonies. This is because individual territorial divisions tend to perform several variations of the ceremonies, and the order of the clans can vary somewhat in each. Nevertheless, such variation is in all instances relatively minor, and in any territorial division, a clan is always in roughly the same position, regardless of how many variations of the ceremonies are performed.



activity based on the sub-territory or territorial division. Ceremonies of angola and akiwodokin, for instance, occur at the level of territorial division more frequently than at the moiety level, and in the performance of the territorial division ceremonies, the clans are the units which pass through the "gate" in a prescribed order. As was the case with the territorial divisions, there is usually a rather vague feeling that the higher "ranked" clans in these ceremonies were the first to establish themselves in the given territorial division, and so are ritually more important. Again, however, the main significance of the "rank" is that it further underlines the corporate nature of a clan, as does the placing of the adult male members of one clan together in a prescribed portion of their generation-set's seating area at all ritual functions of the territorial division.

In his recent work on the Kikuyu, Dr. Godfrey Muriuki has shown that that society, very much like the Jie, is a segmentary one, without any sort of control or regulation being exerted over its tribal oral traditions by any single section of the community. Muriuki points out that Kikuyu traditions, therefore, tend to be "largely free, informal and widely diffused". Among the Kikuyu, these more popular tribal-wide traditions were often found to be "vague and unhelpful", and Muriuki accordingly placed a rather stronger reliance on the traditions of clan and lineage.<sup>1</sup>

The picture given by Muriuki of the Kikuyu is in many ways similar to that of the Jie. There are, in fact, very few tribal-wide traditions existing among the Jie. Traditions do occur on the moiety level, but here, as with the popular tribal-wide traditions

<sup>1</sup> Muriuki, G., A History of the Kikuyu to 1904, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London Univeristy, 1969, p. 15.



of the Kikuyu, they are often deplorably vague. In many ways, the most reliable Jie traditions would appear to be those perpetuated by the individual clans and even sub-clans. Such traditions are largely concerned with the origin of the group and its settlement in Najie, and, in the case of the dispersed clans, its fragmentation into branches.<sup>1</sup>

Such traditions tend to be of real importance only to the clan itself, and there seems to have been little chance of distortions from external sources creeping into them. In many more centralized African societies where a notion of "commoner" and "royal" clans exists, there are also controls exerted to ensure that the traditions of all clans are in accordance with the "official" version of the ruling clan, which will often tend to rationalise and aggrandise its own position, sometimes at the expense of the "commoner" clans.

Unlike those more centralized societies, the Jie have no such notion of "commoner" or "royal" clans. Rather, the Jie clan system is very strongly egalitarian, and, as already noted, very little importance is attached to a clan's "rank" in the performance of akiwodokin and angola ceremonies. The first groups to participate in these ceremonies may be accorded a certain vague respect on account of their ritual importance, but there is never anything like a feeling of inferiority, based on their lower "rank", among those groups which follow behind.

1. Although the time-depth of these traditions tends to be more shallow than that of the more popular moiety-wide traditions, time is almost always more definitely stated in them, as shall be shown below. Furthermore, the time-depth of many clan and sub-clan traditions was sufficient for the span of time this thesis undertakes to examine.



The clans which perhaps come closest to being "royal" clans among the Jie are those of the hereditary ngikerworok (fire-makers), asapanu (generation-set) leaders, and war-leaders. Even with these clans little of the exclusiveness and pride of position which is so strong a feature of many more centralized societies could be discerned. The oral tradition of these clans hardly ever attempts to aggrandise their importance or even unduly to justify their hereditary functions in society. On the contrary, informants of these clans often tend to minimise their own position, and informants from fire-making clans of both moieties (the Jimos clan of Losilang for Lokorwakol, and the Kalolet of Lokatap for the Hengen) have no hesitation in relating their own clan histories which clearly indicate that theirs were not the original fire-making clans.

Although hereditary functionaries must be selected from a rather limited number of kinsmen from a specific clan, it is in line with Jie egalitarianism that the actual successor to an office is elected by the senior elders of the moiety as a whole. Once elected, there is invariably a matter-of-fact acceptance by the Jie of the powers invested in such a functionary, but it is again typical of their egalitarian attitudes that even the candidate for the office of fire-maker (the most important ritual functionary in each moiety) should possess, above all, the following attributes:

The person selected as ekeworon (fire-maker) must always be a gentle person. He must stay at home quietly and not roam about with the warriors. He must not be proud. He must not be rude. He must not be violent. He must always be kind to all the other people. If a man is not like this, he is not selected.<sup>1</sup>

1. Lowakori (Anselmo), Locan and Cokon (Irar), J-90.



At the other extreme, the dispersed Poet clan found in many territorial divisions might be considered the nearest thing to a "commoner" clan in Jie society. The Poet, remnants of a conquered and absorbed non-Jie people, still perform the annual tasks of building the fire-maker's granaries and supplying him with grain as a reflection of their defeat and absorption. However, there was never any hint that the other Jie (including even the fire-making clans, who intermarry with them freely) considered the Poet in any way "inferior", and the Poet, for their part, never once tried to conceal either their defeats or their service to the fire-maker. In fact many told of their duties with resignation verging on pride:

After the Jie defeated my people, my ancestors came here to Losilang in the time of the father of my grandfather. We were given the task of helping the ngikeworok (fire-makers). It was God's will, and so it became our work to build the entire granary - even to the poles and the roof - and then we filled it with grain to the very top.<sup>1</sup>

It is of prime importance that alien groups are absorbed into Jie society with remarkable speed and ease. In accordance with the general egalitarianism, all clans have the right to regard themselves as "thoroughly Jie", despite alien origin or the time of their arrival in Najie. I was frequently made aware that this could even apply to me:

You are a stranger here, from a different tribe. But if you remain here, you will marry Jie girls and you will leave children behind when you die. Perhaps your children would be called the Ulaya (European) clan, but they would be Jie no matter what their name.<sup>2</sup>

1 Lopeirinyet - (Angara), J-87

2 Lokwii (Nakeapan), J-42. I am fairly certain that my son, Kere, who was born in Moroto, but brought to our home in Najie when a week old was considered to be in every way a Jie by many.

In the vast majority of cases, Jie informants, even those of comparatively recent alien origin, had no hesitation in relating their clan histories in full. However most of the distortions which did occur were, in fact, among those clans of alien origin, and most took place early in my research, when I was still largely unknown and some people were suspicious of my investigations. In most cases, informants of these clans were hesitant to reveal their alien origin to a stranger who might not understand that they were now as "thoroughly Jie" as any other group. These informants would simply refuse to relate any of their clan history at all, saying, "We don't know" or "We are Jie. We have always been Jie".

The testimonies of neighbouring clans and often the range of ngitalia and angola - order of the clan itself were usually clear indications of alien origin. Indeed, some informants from clans of alien origin even cited their own ngitalia, as a kind of mnemonic device, in support of their traditions of alien origins:

.....and so, we Kapwor were descended from those Acoli of Kotidany. Even now we have the Acoli etal of slaughtering a hen at marriage time to remind us of our Acoli ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of my research, virtually every clan's history was in line with traditions told about it by other clans, its own ngitalia, and its angola order. In the great majority of cases, therefore, high reliance was placed on the oral traditions of the clans themselves. In the relatively few cases where more credibility was given to sources other than the clan's own history, there

1 Akejan, J-71. I apologise for any embarrassment caused to Lokoliang or any of his family by using him in this example. In many other ways his testimony was most valuable, and I appreciated his help.



than those collected from informants of the clan itself. was a fairly clear indication that for some reason the clan's traditions had been distorted. territorial divisions have their own oral

traditions. Unlike the clan traditions, which seem to be known only in a very restricted area, many traditions concerning sub-territories and territorial divisions are recounted by a society, to Najie by two men called Lolee and Lokarakulucon. These Jie traditions were supported by ones collected in Nyakwai, which stated that a group from their Popongo division left to settle a specific group about itself, which was usually Jie and were in Najie under the leadership of one Lolee and his son, "Okara Kalucon". The only Ila informant I was able to interview, however, was a comparatively junior elder, Lokoliang, whom I had not met prior to the interview. According to Lokoliang, Lokarakulucon had been his own father and Lolee his grandfather. He further stated that the mythology of his clan were "like the Nyakwai", and that one homestead of the clan was named "Nyakwai", and the other "Popongo". Still, he refused to give any of his clan's history, but simply maintained that:

The Ila were originally Jie. They have always lived here in Panyangara. Are we not Panyangara?<sup>1</sup>

Later in the interview, Lokoliang mentioned that perhaps his father had gone to Nyakwai for a short time during a famine, but in answer to a specific question, he denied that either of his ancestors might have originally come from Nyakwai or even been resident there for any length of time. Clearly, however, the great weight of evidence goes against Lokoliang, and Ila is one of the few clans where I have been forced to rely on traditions other

1 Lokoliang, J-113, I apologise for any embarrassment caused to Lokoliang or any of his family by using him in this example. In many other ways his testimony was most valueable, and I appreciated his help.

than those collected from informants of the clan itself.

Sub-territories and territorial divisions <sup>also</sup> have their own oral traditions. Unlike the clan traditions, which tend to be known only in a very restricted area, many traditions concerning sub-territories and territorial divisions are recounted by a moiety, or even the tribe, as a whole. As with the clan traditions, I have generally assigned rather more credibility to the traditions of a specific group about itself, which was usually fuller and more factual than the more popular version told by the rest of the moiety or tribe.

For example, the following tradition concerning the immigration to Panyangara from Rengen of a group known as Kadokini is universally known by informants of the entire Lokorwakol moiety:

Long ago the Kadokini came from Rengen. The Rengen had a feast in which a tortoise was slaughtered. When it came time to divide the liver of the tortoise, they found there was not enough to go around, and the leader of the Kadokini was given none. He grew very angry and took his people away to Panyangara. That is why they are now called 'Kadokini' (from adokini, to go away in anger). We don't know when they came here, but our grandfather found them already settled in their present area when they came to Panyangara from Lokibawo.<sup>1</sup>

The story is a source of great amusement to the people of Lokorwakol, and it is invariably concluded amidst uproarious laughter. It is clearly based on an entirely separate tradition of the Lokatap Rengen in which dissension and subsequent emigration is caused by the unequal division of a hartebeest's liver (see Chapter III, below). Another feature of the story common to many

1. Anuna and Cope, J-28



In the majority of cases where the traditions of those outside such widely-known popular traditions is the strong reliance of the supposed derivation of a group-name. As shall be pointed out in the following chapter, many such traditions should be treated with great caution.

The Kadokini themselves give a rather different version of their immigration to Panyangara, which states, in part:

Before the time of (the generation-set) Ngisiroi, no-one lived here in this part of Panyangara. Even the other Panyangara were down there at Lokibawo near Toror. Our people lived in Rengen, in the area north-west of Lokatap Rock. Most of our pastures, therefore, were west of the Dopath River. But each time our people took their cattle west of the river to graze, they were attacked by Dodos and many of their cattle were stolen. Our people grew angry at this, and so they decided they must leave Rengen and come to this part of Panyangara for safety.<sup>4</sup>

This tradition is clearly a more factual and useful one than the more widely known "liver of the tortoise" tradition. Naturally enough, the Lokorwakol informants, with little reason to care when the Kadokini moved to Panyangara or exactly what reason caused them to do so, have invented a pleasing story at the expense of many of the duller elements of reality. It is only to the Kadokini themselves that the story of their emigration from Rengen is important, and as their own tradition demonstrates, they are the only ones who have bothered to preserve that story in full.

In general, then, rather more credibility is given to traditions perpetuated by a group about its own history than to traditions concerning its history related by outside groups, especially

in the majority of cases where the traditions of those outside groups tend to corroborate the testimony of the group itself, and where angola and akiwodokin order tends to support the group's traditions.

Nevertheless, group traditions often tend to become progressively less reliable, the larger the group. In most cases, this can be attributed to the diverse composition of these larger groups. Sometimes when relating a tradition of their territorial division or moiety, informants embellish the tradition with elements of their own clan histories, not strictly applicable to the history of their territorial division or moiety as a whole. On the other hand, informants will at other times relate the events of a territorial division or moiety tradition as though their own ancestors took part in them, even though their own clan histories clearly indicate that such participation would have been impossible.

Traditions relating to the origin of an entire moiety, or those few which undertake to explain the origin of the entire tribe, usually tend to be merely "pleasing stories" of the "liver of the tortoise" type cited above, from which many important historical elements have been dropped. Moreover, these "origin" traditions vary from one area to another: many of the informants of Lokorwakol territorial divisions telling of how the Jie came to Najie from Noten Hill in the east (true, in fact, for some, but by no means all, of their clans), and many informants of Rengen territorial division telling how the Jie came from the borderland of Acoli in the west (again true for only some clans). As will be shown in Chapter III, the Jie, like most other societies, were made up of



not one, but a whole variety of peoples who came together to form the traditions which exist on all the various levels of the present tribal group now known as "Ngijie". It is hardly surprising that this should find reflection in even the vague traditions of the larger groups of the society.

Such widely-known popular traditions have been termed "tales concerning general history" by Vansina, whereas the more reliable and factual Jie traditions of sub-clan and clan would correspond to his "tales concerning local history" and "tales concerning family history". As Vansina points out, these tales concerning general history tend to be really useful only when treated together with the tales concerning local and family history, "so as to bring out more clearly the links between them" and in so doing, "to provide<sup>a</sup> very accurate check on the traditions relating to general history!"<sup>1</sup>

It is only through a systematic collection of oral traditions on all levels of Jie society, followed by a careful comparison and analysis of them, that a coherent picture emerges. On the one hand, the "tales concerning local and family history" often contain many of the important historical elements dropped from the "traditions concerning general history", whereas the more widely-known traditions often permit the clan and sub-clan traditions to be seen in some kind of over-all perspective.

Previous observers of Jie and other Central Paraniotic history have not made thorough or systematic collections of the

1 Vansina, op.cit., pp.155-6.

tradition often typically vague "tales relating to general history" the traditions which exist on all the various levels of the sort in order to show how such narratives, common among the Central social structure. Usually the only traditions bothered with were Parailides, lack any of the chronological awareness which might make those relating to "general history", the most universally known, but the vaguest and in many ways least reliable of all oral history.

This has led some, including Gulliver and Crazzolara, to over-generalized and seemingly contradictory reconstructions of Jie and other Central Parailotic history; while other observers, like

Dyson-Hudson, have simply thrown up their arms in despair and even in as vague a tradition as that repeated by Dyson-Hudson, concluded that a reliable reconstruction of Central Parailotic history was impossible. Working only with a few "tales concerning general history", with little or no reference to the traditions concerning the smaller constituent groups of the Karimojong (as was obviously the case), it is hardly surprising that Dyson-Hudson should write: "These narratives only partially overlap, from the most remote to the most recent events, even in the extant do not always agree, are often not mutually known, and so in the end cannot satisfactorily be resolved into one connected account."<sup>1</sup>

Of course, relatively \*\*\*\*\*

Before turning to a brief examination of the informants themselves, the manner in which interviews were conducted, and other questions of practical methodology, it is necessary to deal with perhaps the most complex problem confronting an investigator trying to reconstruct the history of the Jie or any other Central Parailotic-speaking group: that of chronology.

In his book, Dyson-Hudson offers a Karimojong "origin"



tradition of the typically vague "tales relating to general history" sort in order to show how such narratives, common among the Central Paraniildes, lack any of the chronological awareness which might make them of at least some historical value. He writes:

If it is chronology that minimally distinguishes history from legend, then clearly this (example, and others like it) cannot be seriously offered as history, for the period of all these events is equally kanoan nooi - 'in the long, long ago.'<sup>1</sup>

Even in as vague a tradition as that repeated by Dyson-Hudson, however, it is possible to discern at least a relative chronology of the events described. While he is correct in his assertion that these widely-known popular traditions usually tend to describe all events as having taken place Kanana nooi, most of them are also told in such a way that there is a definite chronological progression from the most remote to the most recent events. Even in the extremely vague example selected by Dyson-Hudson, such a chronological progression is both clearly stated and easily discernable.

Of, course, relative chronology is of little use to a historian if he does not have any specific chronological "pegs" on which to hang at least some events, and so, in general, the widely known traditions are, taken by themselves, of little help.

Most historians who have worked with the more centralized and agricultural peoples of East Africa have found that the "dynastic generation", based on king lists or "genealogical generations", based on genealogies of individuals, provide vital tools in the reconstruction of their chronologies. As noted above, however, the Central Paraniildes, with

1 Dyson-Hudson, op.cit., p. 263.

1. Jacobs, A.S., "A Chronology of the Pastoral Maasai", in Hadith I, Nairobi, 1968, p. 20. I am very grateful to Dr. Jacobs for several long discussions he had with me concerning problems of chronological reconstructions among the Paraniildes.



their shallow genealogical memories and their strongly egalitarian society, can provide the investigator with neither the genealogies nor the king lists necessary for the reconstruction of a chronology in any depth. While some Jie informants will speak of an event happening "in the time of my grandfathers", very often the meaning is "in the time of the ancestors", and in very few cases could an event be associated with any named ancestor beyond the grandfather. It is impossible, therefore, to use the "genealogical generation" in the same way and to the same extent that it has been used among some of the more centralized East African societies.

Moreover, oral historians cannot simply assume that the length of genealogical generations is roughly the same for all societies, but rather, as Dr. A. H. Jacobs has pointed out, they must always "be tested against sociological facts of each society in which they are used" to accurately determine their length. In the case of the Pastoral Maasai, for example, Jacobs found the mean length of a generation to be on the order of 40 years, whereas both Professors Oliver and Ogot found a mean length of about 27 years for dynastic generations among the Ankole and Luo.<sup>1</sup>

Although I possess nothing like the vast genealogical data collected by Jacobs over a long period on the Pastoral Maasai, every indication is that the mean length of a Jie genealogical generation is closer to that of the Pastoral Maasai than to that of the dynastic generation of the Ankole or Luo. In The Family Herds, Professor Gulliver examines in detail the extremely complex process by which a prospective Jie bridegroom amasses the bride-wealth animals necessary for his marriage. Because the numbers

1. Gulliver (1955) 91-911, p. 244.  
1. Jacobs, A.H., "A Chronology of the Pastoral Maasai", in Hadith I, Nairobi, 1968, p. 20. I am very grateful to Dr. Jacobs for several long discussions he had with me concerning problems of chronological reconstructions among the Paraniotes.



of bride-wealth livestock are so considerable, Jie men tend to marry (and father children) relatively late in life. Gulliver observed that "for a Jie man, marriage before the age of 30 is rare".<sup>1</sup> This was certainly also true during my own work in Najie, with most men marrying for the first time in their early or even mid thirties. In the relatively few cases where I had specific data, the average span of time between the birth of a man and his eldest surviving son was on the order of 35 years or more.

Moreover, Jie men continue to marry additional wives much later in life than in some other East African societies, and it is not uncommon for an elder in his late 60's to marry a third or fourth wife. In such cases, there is often a span of 70 years between the birth of a man and his youngest surviving son. The testimonies of Jie elders indicated that, if anything, the marriage age was even higher in the past, and they frequently complained that, "young people are growing up faster nowadays than in the past". Even children (e.g. men in their late twenties) are marrying these days."

In that the names of individual ancestors beyond the grandfather are not remembered, Jie genealogical memories are shallow.

However, like the other Central Paraniotes, the Jie have a system of generation-sets (asapanu) based on the genealogical generation, by which the Jie remember the name of a generation as a whole long after the names of individual members of that generation have been forgotten.

It is interesting to note that Jacobs has shown that the

1. Gulliver (1955) op.cit., p.242.

3. Frobenius, H.A. "The Masai Age-group System as a Guide to Tribal Chronology" African Studies, 15, 1956.

Pastoral Maasai have two different words for stories relating to events of the past. One of these, enkiterunoto, Jacobs translates as "myths", and notes that these stories usually begin with the phrase, "Now long ago, when sky and earth were still one....".

The other Maasai word, enkatinvi, which Jacobs translates as "history or oral traditions", generally begin with such a phrase as, "Now long ago when the Ilkidotu (or another age-set) were warriors.....".<sup>1</sup>

While the Jie and the other Central Paraniotes do not seem to have terms corresponding exactly with the Maasai enkiterunoto and enkatinvi, it is notable that many of their more widely-known and popular traditions relating to "general history" begin with the words, Kanuana nooi (as noted by Dyson-Hudson) or kolong esek<sup>2</sup>, "in the long, long ago". Many other Jie traditions, especially those relating to "local or family history", however, begin with such a phrase as, "In the time of Ngisiroi (or another generation-set)....". Sometimes the Jie reinforce this with reference to their own genealogy (although almost never to a specific ancestor by name) in this way: "In<sup>the</sup> time of Ngikok, the asapanu of the father of my grandfather.....".

Jacobs, taking some of his inspiration from H. A. Fosbrooke<sup>3</sup>, has shown that by a dating based on the last twelve Maasai age-sets

1. Jacobs, op. cit., pp.14-15.
2. It is difficult to translate these terms exactly. Kanuana indicates a very remote time, usually considerably more than 100 years, in the past. Kolong usually indicates a time of anything up to about 100 years in the past. Paaran and Ngoon are the words indicating the recent past: the former, a period of a few years; and the later, a few weeks or even days.
3. Fosbrooke, H.A. "The Maasai Age-group System as a Guide to Tribal Chronology" African Studies, 15, 1956.



upon which the Jie system is based is that, simply stated, all the it is possible to reconstruct a reliable Maasai chronology going back to about 200 years.<sup>1</sup> By the use of a similar tool, the generation-set, it is possible to reconstruct a reliable Jie chronology going back about 250 years, as I hope to demonstrate below.

Each Jie moiety has its own parallel but autonomous asapanu-system, with the Lokorwakol moiety invariably taking the lead in initiations. In both moieties, the asapanu-system cross-cuts the territorial and (pseudo) kinship-based social groupings of territorial division and clan. The system largely determines the allocation of ritual and political power within Jie society. Although the nineteenth century saw a dramatic concentration of such powers in the hands of certain hereditary functionaries, largely exterior to and partially independent of the asapanu-system, the system has endured, and is even now a major factor in Jie ritual and political life. The manner in which ritual and political power is exercised through the asapanu-system (as well as through the hereditary functionaries) lies mainly outside the scope of this chapter, but will be a central theme of chapter V below. What must be of concern here is the structure of the system and the dynamics of its operation.

It should perhaps be emphasised that unlike the "class-systems based on time"<sup>2</sup> of many other societies of eastern Africa, the Jie asapanu - or generation-set system is based not on biological age, but on genealogical generation. The basic and irrevocable principle

1 Jacobs, op.cit. p.16. In recent personal communication, Jacobs informed me that he is now in fact able to carry a reliable chronology back to about 1615-25.

2 The phrase is borrowed from A. Legesse.



upon which the Jie system is based is that, simply stated, all the sons of a man must be initiated into the asapanu following his own.

Unlike the Karimojong, who, according to Dyson-Hudson, can alter this principle to fit a few very exceptional cases and occasionally initiate a man's sons into the next generation-set but one, the Jie are adamant that the basic principle of their system can never be broken. Despite Dyson-Hudson's implied objections (op.cit., p.175),

Gulliver is certainly correct that Jie males are considered to be "part" of a generation-set from the moment of birth, even though that generation-set may be as yet unformed. Just prior to my own initiation, Mabuc, my Jie father explained:

When a child is born, people know immediately what asapanu he is to belong to. A son can be initiated only into that asapanu following his father's. We consider the second asapanu after the father's to be the same as the father's (see below, p.96). Could a child be initiated, then, into the same asapanu as his own father? That is foolish. You are to be of Ngikome (generation-set), and so that son of yours who was just born can be only of Ngikoria. That is the way. It goes on and on like that. It doesn't change.<sup>1</sup>

Because it is based on this irrevocable generational principle, it will be obvious that there is a tremendous range in the ages of the members of one generation set and that initiations into it must be kept "open" for a very considerable period of time. At the inauguration of a new asapanu, it is common for many of its first initiates to be mature or even elderly men, and indeed for some men to die of old age before they are initiated at all.<sup>2</sup> At the

1 Mabuc (Loputuke), J-112.

2 As shall be noted again, the Jie system lacks the same strong "role-phase" concept which is an important facet of other East African class-systems based on time, especially those in which biological age plays an important part. Jie initiation implies ritual, rather than biological or social, maturity, so that an uninitiated Jie male can marry, take part in warfare, own live-stock and otherwise live a more or less normal life, with the important exception of his participation in ritual affairs.



same time, there will be some future members of the asapanu as yet unborn. In my own generation-set, still in the early stages of its formal existence, there was already a range in the ages of its members of at least thirty years, which will undoubtedly increase considerably before it has finally ended. Furthermore, as Gulliver has noted, a man may well be biologically older than some of his father's younger cousins, who are, nevertheless, initiated into the father's asapanu, and considered "fathers" by the biologically senior son.<sup>1</sup> In my own case, for instance, a number of adolescent boys initiated into Ngimugeto, the asapanu of my Jie father, Mabur (See Fig. 3), had to be treated with respect and deference, and although I was at least fifteen years biologically their senior, I had to refer to them as "father".

While based on a generational principle, the generation-sets themselves are, nonetheless, sub-divided into groups based largely on coevality. Each generation-set is composed of approximately three "age-sections", each of which is in turn divided into three or more "age-sets".<sup>2</sup> The age-set initiates only during a "good year", that is, a year in which rainfall is sufficient to grow enough grain to

1 Much of my description of the Jie asapanu-system is based on the work of Gulliver, with special regard to his article, "The Age Organization of the Jie Tribe", JRAI, 83, 1953. Although in some instances my own data does not agree with his, my researches into the Jie system would have been incalculably more difficult had Gulliver's work not preceeded my own. I gratefully acknowledge the very considerable personal help he gave me, both in the field and after my return to London.

2 The terminology was coined by Gulliver. Again, Ajie terms are vague and confusing. Although an "age-set" is generally termed anyamet (pl. nganyameta), the same term is usually also used for "age-section". On the other hand, asapanu is often used loosely to describe not only a generation-set, but an age-section and age-set as well. The terms are reversed in Akarimojong, anyamet generally referring to a generation-set, and asapanu to an age-set.

**FIGURE 3** A Reconstruction of Jie Generation-sets back to Ngisir

- VII Ngisir (the decorated ones) Began initiations about 1680
- II. Ngipalajam (those of the uncured hides) " " 1720  
 (Ngitome?)(those of the elephants)  
 A.? Ngimirio (those of the mice)  
 B.? Ngingatunyo (I) (those of the lions)
- III. Ngikok (those of the soldier-termites) " " 1760  
 (Ngikoria?)(those of the rats)  
 A.? Ngieleki (I)(those of the earrings)<sup>1</sup>
- IV Ngisiroi (those of the dik-diks) Began initiations about 1800  
 (Ngitome?)  
 A. Ngimadanga (those of the ticks)  
 B. Ngiwapeto (I) (those of the elands)  
 1.? Ngirionomong (those of the black oxen)  
 2.? Ngiyarameri (those of the white-spotted, twisted horn oxen)
- V Ngikokol (those of the black-spotted oxen) Began initiations about 1840  
 (Ngikoria)  
 1. Ngimugeto (I) (those of the topis)  
 2. Ngikorio (I) (those of the giraffes)  
 A.  
 1. Ngimuria (I) (those of the klipspringers)  
 2. Ngirisai (I) (those of the leopards)  
 B.  
 1. Ngieleki (II)  
 2. Ngitukoi (I) (those of the zebras)  
 3. Ngitiira (I) (those of the etiira trees)
- VI Ngikosowa(I) (those of the buffaloes) Began initiations about 1880-85  
 (Ngitome)  
 1. Ngingatunyo (II)  
 A.  
 1. Ngikwei (those of the jackels)  
 2. Ngilobai (those of the hartebeestes)  
 3. Ngibooko (those of the tortoises)  
 4. Ngibeerei (those of the grasshoppers)  
 5. Ngiyamyang (those of the grass-eaters)  
 B.  
 1. Ngidewa (those of the grass-snakes)  
 2. Ngiyangamong (those of the light brown oxen)  
 3. Ngikolimoru (those of the plovers)  
 4. Ngimoru (those of the mountains)  
 5. Ngiauguru (those of the thorns)  
 6. Ngitibilanajep (the tongue-breakers)
1. Ngieleki in fact refers to a small black seed worn by the Jie as a decoration behind their ears rather than to an earring as such.



**FIGURE 3** continued

**VII Ngimugeto (II) Began initiations between 1920-23**

(Ngikoria)

1. Ngirengelim (those of the red feather pom-poms)<sup>1</sup>
2. Ngirisai (II)
3. Ngikorio (II)<sup>2</sup>
4. Ngigwete (those of the gazelles)
5. Ngitukoi (II)
6. Ngieleki (III)

B.

1. Ngimuria (II)
2. Ngitiira (II)
3. Ngilapeto (II)
4. Ngikakerekerei (those of the woodpeckers)

**VIII (Ngitome) Began initiations 1963**

1. Ngikosowa (II)

Notes: Generation-sets are indicated by Roman numerals. The popular nick-name is given first, followed by the "real" name in parentheses. Age-sections are indicated by capital letters, and age-sets by Arabic numerals.

1. Gulliver lists Ngirisai as the age-section, with Ngirengelim as a constituent age-set. Virtually all of my informants claimed it was the other way around. It would seem that Ngimuria is the name of the final age-section, but I am not certain of this.
2. Some of my informants indicated that Ngigwete were initiated before Ngikorio II, but as Gulliver was in Najie just after these age-sets were initiated, I have followed his order here.

prevent famine and to provide the beer necessary for initiation rituals, and in which there are sufficient numbers of oxen and he-goats to be speared by the initiates. As such years tend to appear both infrequently and sporadically in Najie, there can be no definite statement as to the intervals of time between age-sets. My own age-set, the second of the present Ngitome generation-set, performed its initiations seven years after the initiations of the first age-set, while on the other hand, in the exceptional occurrence of several "good" years following one upon the other, there can be as little as a year or less between age-sets. The whole situation is made even more complex by the fact that individual territorial divisions and even sub-territories do not always initiate during the same year, so that one age-set may appear only in certain areas, while other age-sets may be initiated over a span of several years in different areas.

The criterion for initiation into a given age-set by members of one genealogical generation is largely one of biological age. The first age-set of an asapanu to be initiated tend to be those oldest uninitiated men who have waited a considerable time for their initiation. As previously noted, some of these will be even elderly men and so the range of ages of the initiates of this first age-set tends to be rather more considerable than the range in the ages of the members of the following age-sets. The initiates of these following age-sets tend to be men who are in their early twenties or late teens when the age-set begins its initiation. To the Jie this is the "proper age of initiation", and although the actual age at which a Jie young man is initiated depends largely on the number of sons and the number of



available livestock of his father, most of the age-sets of an asapanu tend to be composed largely of initiates of the "proper age". Only at the end of an asapanu, when the Jie are anxious to complete the initiations of the final age-set or two, are younger and younger boys, well below the "proper age", initiated. Therefore, it is only at the two extremities of a generation-set that there is any very great range in the ages of the initiates of an age-set, whereas the great majority of those of the other age-sets tend to be men "of the proper age" at initiation. his own father's kraal.

The age-sections are usually rather informal groupings of several age-sets, taking their names from the senior-most of their constituent age-sets. In Gulliver's words, an age-section emerges when an age-set decides it "associates more closely with the following junior sets than with the previously initiated senior sets."<sup>1</sup> The age-sections tend to be the vaguest of all the groupings of the Jie asapanu-system, and there is no formal ceremony of any kind to mark their opening or closing.

The opening of a new generation-set is marked by a formal inauguration ceremony held at Nayan ritual grove of Lokorwakol. This is followed a short time later by the inauguration of the parallel generation-set of the Hengen at their own ritual grove. Each moiety has its own clan from which a hereditary first initiate, who is considered the leader of the entire asapanu, is drawn. For the Ngikorwakol, this hereditary leader comes from a branch of the Toroi of Kotiang, and for the Hengen, he comes from a branch of the Kalolet of Lokatap. These hereditary leaders are initiated just prior to the inauguration ceremonies, by spearing an ox in their own fathers' kraal. After the initiation of

1 Gulliver (1953), op.cit. p.152.

the hereditary leaders and the formal initiation ceremony the new asapanu is considered "open". At the initiation ceremony itself, each territorial division in its prescribed order (see above) slaughters oxen and the new asapanu is formally named. After the inauguration ceremony, each territorial division, again in the prescribed order, begins the initiation of its own first initiates. All initiations, like those of the hereditary leaders, take place with the spearing of an ox or a castrated he-goat by an individual initiate in his own father's kraal.<sup>1</sup>

The time of the initiation of the hereditary asapanu-leader and the inauguration of his generation-set seems to be determined by a combination of different factors. First, there is usually considerable pressure being exerted by mature and even elderly initiated men, anxious to be granted the ritual status they feel should be concomitant with their biological maturity. At the same time, the generation-set of their "fathers" should have been initiating for a sufficiently long period so that only relatively few of its potential members (in the main, adolescent boys) remain uninitiated. Concurrently, the generation-set of their "grandfathers", who play a key role in the inauguration and naming of the new generation-set should be at a point where only the junior-most of its age-sets are still surviving. Furthermore, those surviving members of the "grandfathers" generation-set should be of an age where it is reckoned unlikely that they will produce any additional sons, who would necessarily have to be initiated into the final age-set of the "fathers" generation. Finally, when the

1 A description of an initiation can be found in Appendix 7 at the end of this thesis.



eldest son of the previous hereditary asapanu-leader is of the "proper age for initiation", the Jie realize that the time for the inauguration of a new asapanu must be at hand.<sup>1</sup>

It should be emphasised, though, that it is the combination of these factors which sets the necessary machinery in operation for the inauguration of a new generation-set. Any one of these factors taken by itself would be insufficient to provide the necessary dynamics to set the inauguration process in motion. Mature uninitiated men, for example, may pressure for the inauguration of their asapanu well before the other factors have come into line. Because the total machinery is not yet geared for the inauguration of a new asapanu, some men grow old and some even die before their initiation.

On the other hand, if most of the necessary factors clearly indicate that the time is ripe for the inauguration to take place, one factor may be adjusted somewhat to fit in with the general pattern. For example, when the Ngimugeto generation-set, the fathers of the presently initiating Ngitome (see Fig. 3), was initiated, considerable pressure had been exerted for a long period by an increasingly large number of mature and elderly potential Ngimugeto. Apparently the members of the "grandfathers" generation-set, Ngikokol, had dwindled to a handful of survivors of the junior-most age-set, Ngitiira, most

1. If, as my somewhat limited data suggest, the mean length of time between the birth of a man and his eldest surviving son is between 35 and 40 years, then the span of time between the initiation of a hereditary asapanu-leader and his eldest son would also be 35-40 years, if both were initiated at the "proper age". His youngest son, if initiated at the proper age, might not be initiated until 70 or 75 years after his own initiation.



of whom were elderly men. In spite of this, Koroc Lokopon, the designated first initiate of the hereditary asapanu-leader clan was still a young boy, below the "proper age of initiation". Because all the other factors were in line for an inauguration and the resulting pressures were acute, Koroc was initiated anyway: a boy hardly ten years of age; so young that his father had to help him grasp the spear with which his initiation ox was killed.<sup>1</sup>

As previously mentioned, the survivors of the generation-set of the "grandfathers" play an important role in the inauguration of the generation-set of the "grandsons", and until they die out, they choose the names given to the first few age-sets of the new generation. These names are usually the names of already defunct senior age-sets of the "grandfathers" generation, and often there is a close correspondence between the names of all the age-sets of the alternate generations (see Fig. 3). In a sense therefore, the "grandsons" generation-set is seen to replace that of the "grandfathers". As Gulliver has written, in this way a "spiritual and ritual inheritance is passed on in a continuous line from the grandfathers' generation to all levels of the new generation."<sup>2</sup>

1 Koroc (Lokepon), J-103. It should be noted, though, that Koroc's was a rather exceptional case. Koroc's own father had not been the first initiate of his own generation-set, Ngikosowa, although Dila, Koroc's grandfather, had been the first initiate of his. It was Dila's eldest son who had been the first initiate of Ngikosowa, but it would seem that he died fairly early in life without leaving any sons of his own. Thus, the designation of first-initiate of Ngimugeto evolved to Koroc, whose father, Kapel, was apparently the second son of Dila. While this may or may not explain why Koroc was not yet of the "proper age" at the time when all the other necessary factors were in line for the inauguration of Ngimugeto, it clearly shows that it would be a mistake to regard the genealogical generation as the sole criterion determining the span of time between generation-sets.

2 Gulliver (1953), op.cit. p.149.



Although Gulliver did not note it, there appears to be evidence that the identity between alternate generation-sets is also expressed by the use of the same name for those alternate generation-sets as a whole. It would seem, therefore, that the Jie system is in fact a cyclical one, in which two generation-set names, Ngitome and Ngikoria, invariably reoccur in alternate order.<sup>1</sup>

My own awareness of this cyclical repetition of names came only gradually as I collected lists of past generation-sets from about 200 Jie informants. According to Gulliver's reconstruction of the generation-sets<sup>2</sup>, the asapanu of the "grandfathers" during my own stay in Najie would have been called Ngikosowa (those of the buffaloes). Although a great many Jie informants also stated that the asapanu was called Ngikosowa, many others claimed its name was Ngitome (those of the elephants). At first I was not overly concerned by this, as the vagueness of the term asapanu (see above p.89 , footnote 2 ) often led to confusion; and some informants frequently listed the name of a constituent age-set or age-section, rather than the name of the whole generation-set itself. It did seem odd, however, that so many informants should give Ngitome, which Gulliver listed as merely the third age-set of the generation.

On ritual and other occasions I was able to hear and record the "praise songs" of the "grandfathers" generation, one of which

1 See Fig 3. There is less evidence that these names were used for the more remote generation-sets, and so the names are followed by question marks.

2 Gulliver (1953) op.cit.

began:

problems with the names of the other generation-sets. The generation-

Nyamonia a ngikosowa (In) the forest of buffaloes,  
awatar angitome. the elephants were standing there.  
(those of the grandfathers), and the dark grey ones also  
loye, nyengori. Oh, the dark grey ones.

identified it as was. A great many others, however, referred to  
and the other:

Toremo, nyetome, i toremo Spear the elephant, spear it.  
Atome ayong. I am the elephant.<sup>1</sup>

Why should the praise songs of the "Buffaloes" generation be  
so concerned with elephants, after whom only one constituent age-  
set was named?

Upon further investigation, I was told by virtually every  
informant that the "real" name of Ngikosowa was in fact Ngitome,  
and prior to my own initiation I was instructed that the name of  
my whole generation-set was Ngitome, "like that of your grandfathers".  
It seemed, therefore, that Ngikosowa was merely a sort of nick-name  
given to the "grandfathers" generation-set to distinguish them from  
all the previous generation-sets (e.g. their "grandfathers", their  
grandfathers' grandfathers", and so on) who had also been called  
Ngitome.<sup>2</sup>

The establishment of these facts cleared up some long outstanding

1. Additional "praise songs" of the current Ngitome generation-set can be found in Appendix 7 at the end of this thesis. In all probability most, if not all, of these songs were also sung by the "grandfathers" generation. Again, it will be noted that every one of these songs refers to elephants.
2. At the time of my departure from Najie my own generation-set had not yet been given its "nick-name", and were still generally known only as "Ngitome". Significantly, my own age-set, the second of the generation, was given the name "Ngikosowa". (See Fig. 3).

For the Larijiong, a four-name cyclical system. Despite such Larijiong statements as generation-sets

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problems with the names of the other generation-sets. The generation-set of the current "fathers" was listed by Gulliver as Ngimugeto (those of the hartebeests), and indeed many Jie informants also identified it as such. A great many others, however, referred to it as Ngikoria (those of the ratels), a name Gulliver did not list at all. The praise song of the generation-set began:

Poolno Iya o, Amia Nyekor ngatuk Oh, the ratel has captured cattle

Again, Ngimugeto informants seemed about equally divided in identification between alternate generation-sets, some written referring to the generation of the "grandfathers" (e.g. the now defunct generation of "great-grandfathers") as Ngikokol (those of the black-spotted oxen) and, once again, Ngikoria. With further investigation, it became clear that the "real" name of these alternate generation-sets was, in fact, Ngikoria, and that the names "Ngikokol" and "Ngimugeto" were merely the nick-names by which they were distinguished from each other.<sup>1</sup>

1 In recent personal communication with Dr. R. G. Abrahams, I was pleased to learn that his own researches amongst the Labwor, whose Asapanu-system clearly has taken at least part of its inspiration from the Jie one, also pointed to the cyclical re-occurrence of two names. One of these Labwor names, Ekoria, clearly parallels the Jie "Ngikoria", but the other, Ekothowa, would correspond to the Jie "Ngikosowa" which I must conclude is only a "nick-name" for the Jie Ngitome. I am grateful to Dr. Abrahams for meeting with me both prior to and after my field-work and for sharing with me some of his ideas on the Labwor asapanu-system.

Although rather different in its operation, the Turkana asapanu-system, as described by Gulliver ("Turkana Age Organization", American Anthropologist, 60, 1958) and corroborated by my own research, is also a two-name cyclical system; the names in question being Ngimoru and Ngirisai. My own data on the Dodos system are rather too sparse to allow me to make any definite statement, but again there are pointers to a two-name system.

For the Karimojong, Dyson-Hudson describes a four-name cyclical system. Despite such Karimojong statements as generation-sets

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The point of greatest interest to an oral historian here is that, despite the cyclical reoccurrence of two names, Jie informants generally gave the distinguishing nick-name of a past generation-set, rather than simply repeating the two "real" names over and over again. Only those informants who seemed in every way the least well

Footnote 1 from last page continued:

"re-enter the place of their grandfathers" and "they will be named after the animal of their grandfathers", as well as the general close identification between alternate generation-sets, Dyson-Hudson writes that "the alternate generation-sets do not bear the same inclusive names: that is, the system is a four-group system, not a concealed moiety system." (*op.cit.* p.158). However, my own admittedly more modest researches among the Karimojong did tend to indicate that the Karimojong system, like that of the Jie, may well be a "concealed moiety system" after all. Many of my Karimojong informants claimed that only two of the four names listed by Dyson-Hudson, Ngikutoi and Ngimoru, were the ones which reappeared for alternate generation-sets, and the other two names were simply nick-names by which two of the recent generation-sets were commonly known. The testimony of two Bokora elders is typical: "The two names, Ngikutoi and Ngimoru, keep following each other, again and again. In the past, generation-sets were often known by other names, such as Ngimirio, Nginyatanyo, or Ngipalajam. But the real name of even these generation-sets was either Ngikutoi or Ngimoru. They were also given a second name - shall we say Ngimirio - by which they were generally known." (Loyep (John) and Lobanyang (Esoro) Bk-2).

Certainly the existing generation-set listed by Dyson-Hudson as "Ngigete" was as often referred to as "Ngikutoi" as it was "Ngigete" during my stay in Karamoja. According to Dyson-Hudson's list, Ngikutoi was all but defunct twenty years before my arrival in Karamoja, and it was initially very confusing to find a group of that name. It was only after the realization that the Karimojong, like the Jie, might have only a two-name system, did the existence of a vigorous generation-set called Ngikutoi make any sense. It might well also explain the existence of several generation-sets before Dyson-Hudson's "oldest" generation-set, Nginyatanyo, whose names did not correspond to any of the four names he lists. If Dyson-Hudson is correct in his concept of a four-name system, then the Karimojong would have a system unique among all the other Central-Paranilotic-speaking peoples about whom we have any data. It is also difficult to understand what rationale there could be for a four-name rather than a two-name repetition in a class-system based on genealogical generations.



informed did this. Rather, for the majority of informants, the existence or past generation-sets, even those in the distant past, well beyond the recollection of purely genealogical memory, were of sufficient importance and interest that their distinguishing nick-names should invariably be given in preference to their "real" names.

This is not to say that all of the 200 informants questioned could recall the names of all eight generation-sets listed in Fig.3. In fact, only a small minority of informants were able to list all the names, in order, back to Ngisir. It is of great significance, however, that the minority of informants who were able to give the complete list of names invariably did so in exactly the same order despite their living in widely separate areas of Najie. Moreover, those informants were invariably exceptionally good informants in every way, and each was renowned in his own part of Najie as an expert on the things of the past.

The great majority of informants were able to list the generation-sets back to and including Ngisiroi (the "grandfathers" of the senior-most surviving elders) with ease, and a great many others were able to carry the list back to Ngikok.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, the average Jie elder seemed to be far more informed concerning the generation-sets of the past than, for example, the constituent clans of his own territorial division, and indeed most seemed to enjoy discussing the generation-sets more than virtually any other subject.

1 A few informants obviously made up names in order to please me or to avoid appearing poorly informed. In most cases these informants became very confused in such renderings. The majority of informants simply stated "I don't know" if asked to extend the list further back.



This nearly universal interest in past generation-sets was even clearly demonstrated by a group of elders during an observed ritual function. On this occasion, the elders of Kotido assembled at Nakerwon ritual grove to discuss arrangements for the initiation of the second age-set of the Ngitome asapanu. After preliminary prayers and invocations, the group began an impressively detailed discussion of past generation-sets, with elder after elder arising to recall the various feats of arms and other major events associated with each asapanu. Some elders even mentioned deeds associated with individual age-sets or age-sections of generation-sets as long past as Ngisiroi.<sup>1</sup> Although this was the only occasion on which such a discussion was witnessed, elders assured me that such discussions invariably precede the formation of a new-age-set, and they must do much to maintain the relatively high universal interest in and knowledge about the generation-sets of the past.

It is possible, therefore, to reconstruct a list of generation-sets going back to Ngisir with a reasonable degree of certainty.<sup>2</sup>

There remains, however, the greater and equally important task of determining whether it is possible to reliably gauge the span of each generation-set in terms of a fairly specific number of years, and so establish a chronological foundation for Jie oral history.

To begin with, two points need emphasis. First, it is really meaningless to speak of the length of time that a Jie generation-set

1 J-Rit. -1, 25/5/70. It is also noteworthy that this is one of the few instances ever observed where the assembly as a whole took an active interest in a discussion.

2 As shall be pointed out in the following chapter, however, "Ngisir" itself may not refer to a generation-set at all, but rather to an epoch before that specifically recalled in oral tradition.



is "open" for initiations. As noted above, when a new generation-set begins its initiations, there are invariably a number of potential members of the previous generation-set as yet uninitiated, and occasionally still unborn if any members of the "grandfathers" generation are still capable of producing additional sons. The previous generation-set does not "close" its initiations when the new one is inaugurated, but rather there is invariably an over-lap period when age-sets of both generations are initiating separately, but concurrently. Often, this over-lap goes on for many years, although an effort is usually made to initiate even very young boys of the "fathers" generation so that initiations into that generation-set can be brought to as rapid an end as possible.

During my own stay in Najie, the "fathers" generation, Ngimugeto, was initiating an age-set, Ngikakerekerei, concurrently with the initiation of the second age-set of the "sons" generation, Ngitome. At that point, Ngitome initiations had been going on for seven years, and most of the Ngikakerekerei being initiated were adolescent boys. Despite the often repeated hopes of the elders that this would be the last Ngimugeto age-set, a number of even younger potential Ngimugeto were still uninitiated when I left Najie, and would have to wait for another "good" year to be initiated into yet another Ngimugeto age-set. Very much the same overlapping had occurred with the previous generation-set, Ngikosowa. Initiations into two of the final Ngikosowa age-sets, Ngimoru and Ngisuguru, went on concurrently with the initiations of the first Ngimugeto, and the final Ngikowowa age-set, Ngitibilangajep, composed mainly of young boys, was initiated some years after the



Ngimugeto began their initiations (see Fig.3).

As this over-lap period can vary considerably from one generation-set to another, and the initiates of those final age-sets initiated after the commencement of the following generation-set tend to be only a small minority of the members of the asapanu as a whole, and are considered even by the Jie to be "out of step" with the rest of their asapanu, it is more expedient to determine the span of time between the opening of one generation and the opening of the next, rather than to attempt to determine the span of time during which one generation-set is "open" for initiations.

The other point to be emphasised is the more obvious one that in dealing with the span of time between Jie generation-sets, one is dealing with an approximate, rather than a specific, number of years, quite unlike other East African class-systems based on time in which the class-sets are initiated with the reappearance of certain flowering plants or by other such mnemonic devices which permit the observer to discern a fairly definite span of time between groups. Gulliver estimated that this span of time was approximately 20-30 years for the Jie, and Dyson-Hudson estimated 25-30 years for the Karimojong. As I hope to now demonstrate, however, my evidence points to a span of approximately 40 years, although obviously some fluctuations must occur.

The most recent Jie generation-set to come into formal existence was Ngitome, which began its initiations in 1963. The year was attested to by all those initiates of the asapanu who had had sufficient primary education to be cognizant of specific years, and by members

1. All of the Moroto records have subsequently been destroyed. Mr. Logira is himself a laborer, but his information presumably came both from Jie elders and from the Moroto records, prior to their destruction.



of Local Government who had recorded it as such. If Gulliver's estimate of 20-30 years was correct, then the previous generation-set, Ngimugeto, would have begun its initiations sometime between 1933-43.

While none of the early Ngimugeto initiates had had sufficient education to be aware of the specific year in which the generation-set began its initiations, many were able to indicate almost the precise year in several different ways. From a large number of testimonies, all of which point in roughly the same year, five have been selected here as being particularly reliable, but still representative of the great mass of testimony.

A rather rough approximation of the date in which Ngimugeto initiations began was provided by virtually all of my Ngimugeto informants who claimed that their generation-set began its initiations at least several years prior to Lomee, "the disease which killed almost all the goats". In the "Calendar of Notable Events in Jie" drawn up by the Jie County Chief, Mr. S. L. Logira, in 1968 to aid census workers and currently on file in the A.D.C.'s office, Kotido, Lomee is listed as having taken place in 1926. This is supported by information contained in the Karamoja District Annual Reports and Tour Books, as recorded by Dyson-Hudson (op.cit. p.76): "1926: Almost all goats died of contagious pleuropneumonia".<sup>1</sup>

A similar, although still only approximate date, was indicated by Timothy Ecak, an elder now about 70 years old, who was one of the first Jie converts to Christianity. After being given some

1. All of the Moroto records have subsequently been destroyed. Mr. Logira is himself a Labwor, but his information presumably came both from Jie elders and from the Moroto records, prior to their destruction.

education by B.C.M.S. missionaries, Ecak was appointed evangelist of the Kotido mission. According to Mrs. Doris Clark, Ecak's appointment was in 1933.<sup>1</sup> This is supported by Ecak himself, who began keeping a sort of diary in the year he was appointed. The first entry is the birth of his eldest son who, according to the diary, was born in 1933. Ecak claimed that his son was born "about ten years after the first Ngimugeto speared their oxen", not long after he himself, as a youth of about twenty, was initiated into one of the final age-sets of the previous generation, Ngikosowa.<sup>2</sup>

Again, the same approximate date for the opening of Ngimugeto was indicated by Koroc Lokepon, the hereditary first-initiate of Ngimugeto who is, by all possible indications, a man of about 60 years of age. According to his own testimony and that of virtually all other informants who were present, he was a young boy about ten years old (so young that he could not hold his spear correctly and had to be helped by his father), when he speared his initiation ox, and thereby opened the Ngimugeto asapanu.<sup>3</sup>

A more definite date was indicated in the testimony of Joseph Lobalong who was seized by the European called "Topana" at Loyore and forced to be an askari when he was a young man. Although he does not know the year, Lobalong recalls that it was "at the time when the Germans were fighting in Tanganyika", and that another

1 Clark, D., Looking at East Africa. London 1953, p.12.

I am grateful to Mrs. Clark for the various information she gave me after my return from Uganda.

2 Ecak (Timothy) J-126. p.182

3 Koroc (Lokepon) J-103. Koroc indicated his age at the time of initiation by choosing a boy of about nine or ten from a large crowd of children standing nearby during the interview.



youth, Nameu, was siezed at the same time. Nameu, now deceased, ultimately became County Chief of Jie, and a citation awarded him at his retirement by the Colonial Government, and still in the possession of his son, Korobe, indicates that his service as an askari began in 1914. Lobalong claims that he served as an askari for "about nine years", and after serving "about four years" he took part in the clash with Ethiopian and Turkana raiders at Nakot Pass, which Colonel Moyse-Bartlett records as having taken place in 1917.<sup>1</sup> Approximately five years later, Lobalong claims he was mustered out and returned home to Najie: although he is not certain, he recalls that the year was 1923. In the same year, Lobalong was initiated into one of the final Ngikosowa age-sets, concurrently with the initiation of Koroc Iokepon and the other first initiates of Ngimugeto.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, virtually the same year was indicated by Ansilmo Lowakori who after a certain amount of Mission education as a youth, entered Local Government service, and although a Jie, is now serving as the County Chief of Pian. Ansilmo's father told him that he (Ansilmo) was born at the time that their territorial division, Nakapelimoru, was forced to move west out of their own area by the European called "Magala" as a punishment for their alleged collaboration with illegal Ethiopian traders. Ansilmo was told by his father that his birth had taken place while the Nakapelimoru were planting their first sorghum crop in the west. Anxious to learn

1 Moyse-Bartlett, H., The King's African Rifles, Aldershot 1956, p.441. The engagement is also mentioned by Barber, J., Imperial Frontier, Nairobi, 1968, p.182

2 Lobalong (Joseph) J-130.

the date of his birth, Ansilmo consulted records at Moroto prior to their destruction and learned that the Nakapelimoru were moved west in 1919, and Ansilmo is, to all appearances, a man in his early '30's. Ansilmo's father also told him that Koroc Lokepon and the other first Ngimugeto initiates speared their oxen when that sorghum crop planted in the west was harvested: in other words, the late summer of 1920, and on into the early part of 1921. This was supported by other Nakapelimoru elders who were alive during the western exile, many of whom additionally stated that Lomee took place a few years after the Nakapelimoru were allowed to return to their own area.<sup>1</sup>

From these and a great number of supporting testimonies, it seems clear that a date early in the 1920's, and more specifically a date between 1920 and 1923, is indicated for the beginning of the Ngimugeto generation-set. It would appear, therefore, that the period of time between the beginning of Ngimugeto and the beginning of the following asapanu, Ngitome, was between 40 and 43 years.

A similar time span seems to have occurred between the beginning of Ngimugeto and the previous asapanu, Ngikosowa. As would be expected, indications of the date of the beginning of Ngikosowa are neither as abundant nor specific as was the case with Ngimugeto. Still, a considerable amount of information concerning the various constituent groups of Ngikosowa is supportive of both the date for the commencement of Ngimugeto as well as indicative of a fairly specific date for the commencement of Ngikosowa. Again, I have chosen indications typical of the great mass of testimony.

though physically infirm and totally blind, was still mentally alert and was one of my best informants. He died in October, 1970, apparently the last survivor of his age-set.

1. Turpin, C.A., "The Occupation of the Turkel River Area by the Lowakori (Ansilmo), and Lokelo (Yayatun), J-109. Turpin's date is probably a bit late.



Reference to Figure 3 shows that Ngikolimoru was the second age-set of the final Ngikosowa age-section, Ngidewa. Informants are agreed that it was initiated just after the battle between the Jie and the Bokora Karimojong at Loreapabong, and Capt. T. Grant, the Political Officer of the Turkwell Mission at the time, reported that the battle took place in October 1910.<sup>1</sup> As the majority of initiates of this age-set would have been of the "proper age of initiation", they would have been born about 1890. During my stay in Najie, only a few elderly men of this age-set, all of whom seemed to be in their 80's, still survived.

Again, Nginyamanyang, the last age-set of the middle age-section, Ngikwei (see Fig.3), were initiated just before the battle of Caicaen against the Acoli, which "Karamoja" Bell indicates happened about 1902.<sup>2</sup> The men of this age-set also should have been men of the "proper age", and so most would have been born about 1880. Only one survivor of the age-set, who fought at Caicaen as a newly initiated youth of about 20, was located in all of Najie during my stay there.<sup>3</sup>

Many of my older Jie informants stated that Ngikwei, the age-set which gave its name to the middle age-section (see Fig.3) was initiated "at the time of Lopid", the great rinderpest epidemic which, according to Capt. Turpin, took place in 1894.<sup>4</sup> As there were obviously no

1 Report of T. Grant, 13th February, 1911, EA-1049, Part II.

2 Bell, W.D.M., Wanderings of an Elephant Hunter, London 1925, p.63.

3 This old man, Lobilatam, although physically infirm and totally blind, was still mentally alert and was one of my best informants. He died in October, 1970, apparently the last survivor of his age-set.

4 Turpin, C.A., "The Occupation of the Turkwel River Area by the Karamojong Tribe", U.J. 12, 1948, p.162. If anything, Turpin's date is probably a bit late.



traditions did not specifically mention whether Ngingatunyo was initiated "good years" immediately following Lopid, it is reasonable to assume that the Ngikwei were initiated just before, rather than just after, it took place. Again, members of this age-set would probably have been men of the "proper age", and if so, born around 1870. This tends to be borne out by the fact that in 1951, Gulliver found only one aged survivor of the age-set in all of Kotido territorial division. During the war-leader Morlang's campaign against the Bokora in the first decade of the twentieth century, the Ngingatunyo were one of the

Going further back, the first age-section of the asapanu, which, by the Jie system, was also known as Ngikosowa, had only two constituent age-sets: the Ngikosowa themselves (e.g. the first initiates of the whole generation) and Ngingatunyo (see Fig. 3). As previously noted, many of the Ngikosowa would have been mature men who had awaited initiation for many years, while the Ngingatunyo would have been composed largely of men of the "proper age". In spite of this, Ngikwei, the third age-set, saw fit to associate themselves more closely with the age-sets junior to themselves than with the Ngingatunyo, and so the Ngikwei age-section evolved (see Fig. 3). When one realizes that the rinderpest epidemic was followed by a plague of locusts, a drought and an outbreak of smallpox, it becomes clear that at least several years must have passed between the initiation of Ngikwei and the following age-set, Ngilobai. Still, Ngikwei chose to associate more closely with Ngilobai than with Ngingatunyo, which strongly indicates that there was even a longer span of time between the initiations of Ngikwei and Ngingatunyo. Indeed, Jie traditions clearly state that another cattle disease, Loukoi (probably pleuropneumonia) took place some years

before Lopid, and if it did not cause the same terrible devastation as Lopid, was nevertheless a heavy blow to the Jie economy. Turpin estimates (*Ibid.*) that Loukoi took place about 1887. Although Jie

1. See Thomson, J., *Through Masailand*, London, 1885, p. 531, where he is accompanied with beads such as are not known among the (Swahili) (Lake Rudolf) on which there were boats, and said that from that direction they had heard of guns." See also Von Meisel, L., *The Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefania*, Vol. II, London 1894, p. 251.



traditions did not specifically mention whether Ngingatunyo was initiated before or after Loukoi, they do mention that they were active at that time. It can be reasonably deduced that the Ngingatunyo were initiated sometime before Loukoi, and that the outbreak of the disease prevented further initiations until those of the Ngikwei in the early 1890's.

During the war-leader Lorian's campaigns against the Bokora in the first decade of the twentieth century, the Ngingatunyo were one of the senior-most age-sets on "active duty" with the Jie army, and as such would have been men in their 40's at that time, and by the time of Gulliver's stay in Najie, all the Ngingatunyo (at least in Kotido) were dead. Both of these facts indicate that a majority of the Ngingatunyo were probably born in the 1860's and therefore initiated in the 1880's.

Jie traditions do recall that the first Ngikosowa were initiated before Loukoi, but after Loongoupoko (occasionally called Lopetun) another disease which in all probability corresponds to the Logipi of Turpin (*Ibid.*), which he estimates occurred in 1876. Jie traditions also recall that the first initiations took place "before the first Habaci (Ethiopian) traders arrived in Najie". Informants are further agreed that these Habaci preceeded the Acumpa (Swahili) traders by some years. There is apparently no record of when exactly the first traders made their appearance in Karamoja, but it is known that when the first Swahili trader, Jumba Kimameta, arrived in Turkana in 1884, he found that Ethiopian traders were already active in that area.<sup>1</sup>

1 See Thomson, J., Through Maasailand, London, 1885, p.531, where he states that when Kimameta entered Turkanaland he found "natives ornamented with beads such as are not known among the (Swahili) traders..." and he met people who spoke of a "great salt lake (Lake Rudolf) on which there were boats, and said that from that direction they had heard of guns." See also Von Hohnel, L. The Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie, Vol. II, London 1894, p.251.



It would seem likely that Ethiopians had visited northern Karamoja by a similar date, although as Barber points out, the amount of trade at that time must have been rather insignificant and restricted.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly, the Ngikosowa began initiations sometime before 1887, and from all indications a date somewhat earlier in the 1880's is very likely. A span of 35-40 years, therefore, appears to have occurred between the beginning of Ngikosowa initiations and those of Ngimugeto.

While there are no written sources to allow the assignment of a specific date to any event during the time of the previous generation set, Ngikokol, it is possible to get some idea of when members of some of its constituent age-sets were born by examining their activities at specifically dated events.

For example, current Jie elders in their 70's (their ages calculated from their participation in battles and other events for which definite dates exist in written sources) universally recall that when they were small children in the first decade of this century, Ngitukoi, the penultimate age-set of Ngikokol, were old men (see Fig. 3). Lorian, the great war-leader, was of this age-set, and it is universally remembered that he was a man in his early 70's at the time of his death in about 1915. By the time of the Ngimugeto initiations which, as has been shown, were in the early 1920's, only a small handful of Ngitukoi, all very aged men, were still alive. From these and a few other indications, the Ngitukoi would have been born in the 1840's, and, if they

<sup>1</sup> Barber, *op.cit.*, p.92. Professor Gulliver, in recent personal communication, also agreed that it is very likely that the first Ethiopian traders had reached Najie by the early 1880's.



terrible famine throughout north-eastern Uganda. As a result, the people of Asipany, their cattle and their land were lost. They were initiated at the "proper age" (which, by their position in the asapanu, they should have been), then their initiations would have taken place in the 1860's.

Going further back, Ngimuria, which seems to have been the third age-set of the asapanu, had dwindled to only a few aged survivors by the time of the battle of Tiira, a defensive fight against the Dodos. Informants universally state that it took place a few years before Caicaon, and so, about 1895. At the time of the battle all the surviving Ngimuria were too old and infirm to take part, although it is common in such defensive actions for even rather elderly men to take part in the defense of their homes. It would seem from this that the Ngimuria must have been born in the 1820's, and as such would have been initiated in the 1840's. As at least two other age-sets of the asapanu were initiated before Ngimuria, it can be reasonably suggested that a date in the early 1840's is indicated for the beginning of the Ngikokol generation-set; again roughly 40 years before the beginning of the following generation-set.

If such an interval of approximately 40 years does exist between generation-sets, then the "fathers" of Ngikokol, the Ngisiroi, would have begun their initiations about 1800, and their "fathers", Ngikok, would have begun theirs around 1760 (see Fig.3). There is a nearly universally-known Jie tradition which states that at the time of the inauguration of Ngikok, a devastating cattle raid was launched against a people variously called "Ngikapwor" or "Ngiseera" living at the Kotidany River west of Najie. Further traditions recall that after this raid, there was a drought of very long duration which caused a

terrible famine throughout north-eastern Uganda. As a result, the people of Kotidany, their cattle stolen and their crops withered, moved gradually west through the Labwor Hills (which is supported by Labwor informants) to Mt. Otuke where they dispersed, most continuing on to Lango and Acholi, and a few returning to the east.

Traditions collected by J. Weatherby among the Tepes and by Professor Webster among the Eastern Acoli also recall a prolonged drought which brought on a great famine. Each observer, working independently, deduced that the drought occurred at the end of the eighteenth century, roughly in the 1780's,<sup>1</sup> well within the span of Ngikok initiations, therefore, according to my suggested 40-year interval between Jie generation-sets.

Furthermore, Fr. Crazzolara estimates that "between the years 1750 and 1800" a considerable number of immigrants from Karamoja pushed into Lango from Mt. Otuke, and both Driberg, and more recently Tosh, have agreed that immigrants were coming into Lango via Mt. Otuke by 1800.<sup>2</sup> It is notable that Crazzolara's dates correspond almost exactly with the dates I have suggested for the span of the Ngikok initiations.

1 Personal communication with Mr. Weatherby and with Professor Webster.

2 Crazzolara, *op.cit.*, p. 200. Driberg, J.G., *The Lango*, London, 1923, p. 31. Tosh, J., "The Background: Environment, Migration and Settlement", Chapter I of his as yet untitled thesis on the Lango, still being prepared, p. 19.

2 Indications of approximately 40-year intervals between the generation-sets of some non-Jie societies are briefly summarized in Appendix 4 at the end of this thesis.



From every possible indication, therefore, the span of time between Jie generation-sets is, on the average, approximately 40 years.<sup>1</sup> As will be pointed out in the following chapter, this approximate 40-year interval between generation-sets does not seem unique to the Jie alone. Rather, a similar interval appears to exist (or at least to have existed) in the Turkana asapanu-system, and probably with the Karimojong and Dodos, as well.<sup>2</sup>

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Having briefly described how all levels of the Jie social structure retain and transmit their own oral traditions, and having explained how a chronology for the events recalled in those traditions has been determined, it remains to examine briefly the informants themselves, as well as the practical methodology which enabled the collection of their oral history.

With the realization that many important aspects of Jie oral history might best be approached through the traditions of the smaller social groups - the clans and the sub-clans - an attempt was made throughout the latter part of my research to make contact

1 It should be noted from Fig. 3 that fewer and fewer constituent groups of the generation-sets prior to Ngikokol are remembered by Jie informants. There is probably a tendency for the names of age-sections to be remembered longer than the names of individual age-sets, and it can be suggested that the constituent groups remembered for the earliest generations are probably age-sections rather than age-sets. Obviously, therefore, any kind of precise dating for events taking place during these earliest generations is impossible except in those cases where traditions specifically state that they happened when the generation-set in question was at the beginning or the end of its initiations. In most cases, events of the early generation-sets can be dated only by reference to the whole span of years during which the generation set in which they occurred was actively initiating.

2 Indications of approximately 40-year intervals between the generation-sets of some non-Jie societies are briefly summarised in Appendix 4 at the end of this thesis.



with as many of those groups as possible. As my home near Kotido was roughly at the geographical centre of the permanently settled area of Najie, the most out-lying settlements of any territorial division were not more than 20 miles away. It was a fairly easy matter, therefore, to canvass effectively virtually the entire area of permanent settlement, although the lack of motorable tracks meant that some settlements were accessible only on foot. As a result, informants from every territorial division and from most clans were interviewed.<sup>1</sup>

Another problem which was easily solved was to identify the class of Jie from whom the fullest and most reliable traditions might be collected. From the beginning of my work it became increasingly clear that the senior elders, the last survivors of the "grandfathers" generation, Ngikosowa, were, as a group, the best potential informants. Naturally there were exceptions to this, and an individual elder's ability to recount oral traditions depended very much on his own particular personality and interests.

Some of the best informants were men, who, by Jie standards, tended to be rather shy and quiet. It was discovered that many such men had not taken as active a part in warfare in their youth as their coevals, and had preferred to remain behind at the permanent settlements with the older people when most youths of their age departed for the harsher, but more adventuresome, life of the cattle camps.

Often, such men seemed to have a natural interest in oral history, and from an early age would sit near groups of elders and eavesdrop.

<sup>1</sup> The numbers of informants interviewed from each territorial division and clan are given in Appendix 2, at the end of the thesis.



on their discussions of "the things of the past".

On the other hand, many other excellent informants were more flamboyant elders who, in their youth, had been great warriors whose deeds are still recalled in Jie war-songs. In many such cases, elders seem to have taken an interest in "the things of the past" only later in life, sometimes largely because it was expected of them. The senior elders as a group are held by the Jie to be the authorities on oral tradition, and it seems to be a matter of pride with many elders to live up to the expectations of their people. Those elders who are the senior men of their clans and sub-clans are also expected to be the final authorities on the ngitalia and the traditions associated with the group.

Furthermore, the more senior elders tend to have much more opportunity to be exposed to oral traditions than any other class of Jie society. They are invariably present at ritual occasions, such as the one described above on p. 102, where oral traditions can play an important part in discussions. They are also the men who, as a group, have a great deal of leisure time, much of which is spent sitting under a favourite tree with kinsmen or neighbours even senior to themselves discussing the "things of the past".

In all, 71 elderly Ngikosowa were interviewed. These men must represent a considerable proportion of the survivors of that asapana.<sup>1</sup>

1 I have no way of ascertaining the exact number of surviving Ngikosowa. Ritual occasions I attended in many of the territorial divisions afforded me the opportunity to see all of the Ngikosowa of that area gathered together, and indeed these occasions were an excellent way of meeting prospective informants. In all of Najie there were extremely few Ngikosowa of whose existence I was aware who were not ultimately interviewed.



Although some were better than others (and a few were senile), they were, as a group, very good informants. Moreover, most were of such an age that even if they were not able to recount much oral history, they were invariably able to provide oral evidence about events of the early twentieth and late nineteenth centuries in which they themselves took part.

In many cases, Ngimugeto were interviewed in order to collect rather more informants of the "fathers" generation-set, Ngimugeto, 114 in all, were interviewed. As a group, the Ngimugeto were not as well informed as the Ngikosowa, but some individual Ngimugeto were among the very best informants. Many of these were older Ngimugeto, rather "out of step" with their generation-set, and biologically of an age more in correspondence with the surviving Ngikosowa. Others were younger men who, because of their individual personalities or circumstances, took a greater interest in oral traditions than most of their coevals.

For example, Elizeo lower, although only about 55, proved to be an outstanding informant. Elizeo was born severely crippled in all four limbs, which prevented him from going out to the nganyoi or participating in raids as a youth, and so invariably he remained behind at the permanent settlements where he developed an avid interest in the traditions he heard being told by the older members of his family. In the same way, Sampson Looru, although rather older than Elizeo, was still considerably younger (both biologically and socially) than most Ngikosowa, and yet he was one of the four or five best informants interviewed. Sampson, an extremely soft-spoken and gentle man (and one of the first Jie converted to Christianity) had avoided going to the nganyoi

1. It should be noted that Looru's grandmother must have been rather exceptional, for I never heard of any other Jie women who was regarded as quite such an authority on oral traditions.



as much as possible as a youth, and had usually remained behind in his father's settlement, where he helped to care for his very aged grandmother, regarded at that time as one of the chief authorities on the oral traditions of her area, and from her he learned many "things of the past".<sup>1</sup>

In many cases, Ngimugeto were interviewed in order to collect rather specialized information. In some cases they were clan or sub-clan leaders, the elder Ngikosowa all having died. The current Jie war-leader, the ekeworon of the Rengen, the leader of the Kaceri settlers, and members of the ekeworon and asapanu-leader families of Lokorwakol were all Ngimugeto.

As a group, however, the Ngimugeto seemed to lack both the inclination and the leisure time to know the oral traditions as fully and as well as the Ngikosowa, as a group, did. Often, Ngimugeto seemed rather intimidated by the existence of a surviving Ngikosowa kinsman, and would advise me to, "Ask my 'father' these things. He is the elder here, and he knows these things better than I do." Also, many younger Ngimugeto were too busy with the daily management of livestock and domestic affairs to be very concerned with oral traditions: "Am I an elder, do you think, that I can just sit under a tree and talk about these things of the past?"

The other 29 Jie informants interviewed were either of the "sons" generation, Ngitome; uninitiated men; non-Jie visiting or living temporarily in Najie; or women. Most of the uninitiated men and Ngitome were relatively older men, "out of step" with their

1 It should be noted that Looru's grandmother must have been rather exceptional, for I never heard of any other Jie woman who was regarded as quite such an authority on oral traditions.



generation. Only seven women were interviewed, most of them elderly. One of these was among my best informants, while another was the poorest informant I interviewed. The women usually knew the traditions of their husbands' clans better than those of their fathers' clan, and because each area of Najie had certain elders who were considered authorities on oral tradition and that there were several elders who were known virtually throughout Najie as the foremost authorities, a special effort was made to be introduced to such elders by other elders with whom I was already friendly. Perhaps better use of them could be made in collecting lists of ngitalia and clan traditions, but I do feel I was justified in concentrating my attention on male informants.

As work progressed, I became a familiar figure in almost every part of Najie, and by the end of the first nine or ten months, much of any earlier suspicion concerning me and my work had disappeared. The process of finding suitable informants, never very difficult, became progressively easier as research went on. Soon after my arrival in Najie, a meeting with all the sub-county and parish chiefs was arranged for me by Mr. Logira, the County Chief, and it was largely through them that contact with my first informants was made. These first informants were usually elders well known to the chief of their area as men with considerable knowledge of oral traditions. Because the chiefs were the intermediaries in those meetings, however, many of those first informants seemed convinced that I was in some way connected with the Government, despite attempts by the chiefs and myself to assure them I was not. As many older Jie had a distinct tendency to idealize the time when there was a European administration as one of "peace and rain", it was occasionally not really to my disadvantage that I was assumed to be "the Government". Nevertheless, I felt that most informants met through the chiefs were rather suspicious of the motives of "the Government" in asking them about their oral traditions. Early in my research, therefore, I began to work as much as possible without direct help from the intermediary chiefs. Some in-



Most of my data was collected in a series of 132 formal interviews. Each interview was tape-recorded in its entirety and subsequently translated and transcribed almost verbatim with the aid of a research assistant. The interview itself generally lasted for about an hour, although a few were only half that long and others went on for well over two hours. Most informants, especially the older ones, became tired after about one hour and made it known that the interview should be concluded. Each interview was preceded by about 15-30 minutes of "small talk" about the weather, the cattle, etc.

As work progressed, I became a familiar figure in almost every part of Najie, and by the end of the first nine or ten months, much of any earlier suspicion concerning me and my work had died down. I attended every ritual function that I could, and from the beginning I made a point of associating with the Ngitome generation-set, into which I was ultimately initiated. By the mid-way point in my research, locating suitable informants had become rather a "snowballing" process, with previous informants suggesting the best informants of a particular clan or sub-clan, and often accompanying me to their homes to make a formal introduction. By the end of my stay in Najie, a few elders were even coming to my home in Kotido to announce, "You have spoken with all of my 'brothers'; now I am here to tell you the things I know of the past."<sup>1</sup>

- 1 I do not think that my race or nationality played any very important role in my effectiveness as a researcher. It should be realized that most Jie lead a very isolated life, and that to them a Muganda is every bit as alien as a European. I have no doubt that a researcher from any Uganda tribal group with whom the Jie have had poor relations in the past would have had, in many ways, a harder task than I had. It is notable that a few elders, rather disenchanted with the Uganda Government's efficient collection of taxes, agreed to talk with me only because I was a European.



Most of my data was collected in a series of 132 formal interviews. Each interview was tape-recorded in its entirety and subsequently translated and transcribed almost verbatim with the help of a research assistant who served as interpreter. The interview itself generally lasted for about an hour, although a few were only half that long, and others went on for well over two hours. Most informants, especially the older ones, became tired after about one hour and made it obvious that the interview should be concluded. Each interview was preceded by about 15-30 minutes of "small talk" about the weather, the cattle, the sorghum, recent raids and so forth. Usually I provided millet beer during this stage of the interview and everyone taking part in the interview drank as we talked. When the informants seemed at ease, the purpose of my work and the tape-recorder were explained.<sup>1</sup> After the interview, the informants' voices were played back briefly for them, and they were thanked with a small gift of snuff tobacco, and

Three research assistants were employed on a full-time basis

1. The usual way in which the purpose of my work was explained was to mention to informants that at school Jie children could learn the history of Europeans, Iteso, Acoli, and many other peoples, but not of the Jie. Informants were asked to tell the oral traditions they knew so that Jie history, like the histories of all those other people, could be written down. Most informants reacted favourably to this strategy and many even commented that it was good that the "radio which catches the wind" (the tape recorder) would write the "things of the past" so they would never be forgotten. No informant ever objected to the tape-recorder, and the great majority were delighted when their voices were played back to them. It was only if a research assistant or myself attempted to jot something down with pencil and paper that some informants became nervous.

A great deal of time was spent on the translation and transcription of every taped interview, and every effort was made

1. The research assistants, as well as part-time assistants, guides, and so on, are listed and described at the end of the "Gazette of Informants", Appendix 1, at the end of this thesis.



occasionally posho, sugar, salt or other food.

Almost all the interviews were conducted in Ajie through a research assistant who served as interpreter. Perhaps a third of the informants knew Kiswahili reasonably well, and as I am able to converse fairly fluently in that language, informal chats before the interviews and sometimes part of the interview itself would be carried out in Kiswahili with those informants. My own knowledge of Ajie was rather slight. During the course of my stay in Najie I managed to build up a considerable vocabulary of specialized words used frequently in interviews, and I was able to converse at a very simple level. By the end of my work, I could follow the general drift of much of the testimony, but I never approached a knowledge of the language whereby I was able to conduct an interview in Ajie with an informant directly.

Three research assistants were employed on a full-time basis during my stay in Najie. Although less than ten Jie young men had completed four years of secondary education by 1969, I was fortunate enough to secure two of them as my first two research assistants. The third assistant, who began work during the latter part of my research, had completed a year's secondary education, but had also lived in Kampala for a year where his everyday language had been English. In all cases, I felt that the assistants had a high enough standard of English for me to be able to trust their translations implicitly.<sup>1</sup> A great deal of time was spent on the translation and transcription of every taped interview, and every effort was made

1 The research assistants, as well as part-time assistants, guides, and so on, are listed and described at the end of the "Gazette of Informants", Appendix 1, at the end of this thesis.





Plate III (above); An interview (J-74). My research assistant relays a question to the two informants while young men sit nearby and listen to the "things of the past".  
Plate IV (below left); Longom, the informant of J-61.  
Plate V (below right); Mabuc Loputuka, the informant of J-70, J-85, and J-112 and my Jie "father" who sponsored my initiation.





to ensure that as exact a translation as possible was achieved.

Interviews were translated sentence by sentence, and my assistant and I usually spent four or five hours in translating and transcribing a single hour of tape. An effort was made to translate and transcribe each tape within a day or so of the interview so that if any part of the testimony was unclear, an informant could be seen again briefly while the interview was still fresh in everyone's mind. During the interviews themselves, the research assistant would provide a brief summary of an informant's testimony before I asked another question. These summaries became shorter as my own understanding of Ajie increased, and could frequently be dispensed with altogether by the end of my stay in Najie.

Questions asked during the interview were made as general as possible, and I conscientiously tried to avoid any question which could be answered by simply "yes" or "no", or which might "lead" the informant in any way. Prior to an interview, 30 or 40 questions would be written out on a note card to serve as a guide to my questioning, but during the interview deviation from these questions was constant as informants' testimonies indicated new areas of inquiry.<sup>1</sup>

Just prior to my own work, the research projects of Webster in Teso and Tosh in Lango had suggested two radically different outlooks on the number of informants to be interviewed at one time. Among

1 I am grateful to John Tosh for allowing me to accompany him on three of his interviews in Lango before my own work began. In this way I learned some valuable lessons in practical methodology from a researcher who had already been interviewing for seven months.



from only one poor informant on his own. It was also a good method the Iteso, Webster had used the "group interview", in which as many as a dozen informants were interviewed together; Tosh, on the other hand, interviewed all of his informants singly.

In my own research, both methods were employed. At the beginning of my work, I tended to use the "group interview" rather more, although I found that five was the maximum number of informants that could be effectively interviewed at one time, and that an ideal number was more like three. To interview more than five informants was to invite chaos, and control over the interview was extremely difficult to maintain.<sup>1</sup>

Working with a small group of less than five informants seemed to have several things to recommend it. In the first place, Jie elders typically came to decisions in council, and I felt that the best renderings of oral traditions might also be given in a group situation. Sometimes this was the case, in fact, with elders discussing a tradition among themselves before telling it. On the other hand, many group interviews tended to be dominated by one man, more forceful than his companions, who would do almost all the talking and even shout down any of the others who tried to express their own views. Also, in a group situation where men from two or more clans might be represented, there was a tendency for only one group's traditions to be related, as though they applied to all the clans present.

The group interview was often useful when working in a given area for the first time with unknown informants: there was more likelihood of getting at least some useful information from the group as a whole than

1 The maintenance of order in the interview situation was, in fact, often a problem. As interviews were usually held under an elder's "favourite tree" often near a well-worn path between homesteads, considerable groups of women, children and young men would frequently congregate nearby, joking and talking among themselves. Old men usually had sufficient respect and authority to command silence or to order away noisy spectators, but some of the younger informants did not, and some interviews were nearly ruined by background noise.



from only one poor informant on his own. It was also a good method to use when interviewing very old men who were often too feeble to speak for very long periods on their own.<sup>1</sup>

Second and third interviews with exceptionally good informants, and interviews conducted primarily to collect clan histories or other more specialized information, were better conducted with a single informant, however. In such cases I could be fairly certain that the informant was enough of an authority for simultaneous testimony from other informants to add little to his testimony and possibly to do much to muddle it. Interviews with single informants increased during the second half of my research, so that by the end of my stay in Najie virtually all interviews were with a single informant, or perhaps with a primary informant and a single companion of his choice.

The formal interview situation was not the only means of collecting information. As previously noted, ritual occasions proved helpful both in collecting data and in meeting prospective informants. Songs, especially war-songs and asapanu praise-songs, heard on these ritual and more informal occasions (as well as during the formal interviews) provided a considerable amount of useful historical information. Except for about five brief trips, my wife and I remained in Karamoja during virtually our entire 16 months in Uganda. Even a day-trip out of Najie to Moroto for necessary petrol and food supplies was not undertaken more frequently than every two or three weeks. As a result, we became very familiar figures, especially in our "home area" of Kotido, and so informal visits to the homesteads of neigh-

1 A good example of this was J-98, where Lokwange, a very feeble old man of about 100, supposedly the oldest living Jie, actually fell asleep for 10 or 15 minutes after each time he spoke. Lobeerei, the co-informant, kept the interview going while Lokwange slept, and would nudge him awake when he needed his opinion or support on some point.



"Fringe Cushitic" - speaking peoples of Northern Karamoja and Mr. John Wilson had finished a study of the remnants of the Jie in the same area, and a certain amount of their indirect comparative material

Throughout my project, two auxiliary disciplines, social anthropology and archaeology, provided me with additional tools of great help in the collection of oral historical information. Social anthropology, in which I have some formal background, provided methodological tools to arrive at an understanding of Jie social organization and the asapanu-system, as already outlined above. Other information was collected by the examination of a large number of archaeological sites in northern Karamoja, many of which played important roles in Jie traditional history. Although without any kind of formal archaeological training, I was helped and advised throughout my investigations by Hamo Sassoon, as well as by Charles Nelson and Larry Robbins, all professional archaeologists, and by John Wilson, John Weatherby, and Alan Jacobs, all amateur archaeologists with great practical experience in East Africa.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the 132 Jie interviews, a series of 63 formal interviews were conducted among neighbouring peoples in order to collect data corroborative to Jie traditions. As previously noted, not one of the tribes neighbouring Najie had been studied in depth by a historian at the time of my arrival in Karamoja, although during my research, Professor Webster began a project among the Eastern Acoli kingdoms which produced data invaluable to my own work. Simultaneously with my project, Mr. John Weatherby was conducting research among the

1 Some of my archaeological investigations are noted in Appendix 5, "Some Archaeological Sites in Northern Karamoja", at the end of this thesis.

4 Karamoja, with 1 informant; 2 Ngitoma Karamoja, with 2 informants; 2 Nyakwai, with 5 informants; 1 Marille, with 3 informants; and 1 Acoli, with 1 informant. Both Jie and non-Jie informants are listed in Appendix 1, at the end of this thesis.



"Fringe Cushitic" - speaking Tepes of/southern Karamoja and Mr. John Wilson had finished a study of the remnants of the Iworopom in the same area, and a certain amount of/rather indirect comparative material was kindly provided by both these investigators. Nevertheless, the histories of all the peoples actually neighbouring on Najie, with the exception of the Eastern Acoli, remained a mystery.

It became quite clear that Jie history could not be effectively studied in isolation. So much of/Jie history was that of their interaction with neighbouring peoples that it was necessary to form a clearer picture of the histories of those neighbours about whom so little was known. As Dr. J. E. G. Sutton has written: "If we try to study tribes or groups in isolation, we will end up ..... with tribalist histories full of biases and antiquarianism."<sup>1</sup>

The 63 non-Jie interviews, therefore, helped to place Jie oral traditions into some kind of more general perspective.<sup>2</sup> Because of the similarity in dialects, my Jie research assistants were able to serve as interpreters in all but the Nyakwai, Labwor, and Marille interviews, although temporary assistants (usually secondary school students) from each area were hired to help with translations, and to serve as guides and intermediaries.

Obviously I was never as well known in any other area as I was in Najie, and many of my non-Jie interviews had to be arranged for

1 Sutton, J.E.G. "The Settlement of East Africa", in Zamani, Nairobi, 1969, p.96.

2 Those interviews are broken down as follows: 20 Turkana interviews, with 50 different informants; 13 Dodos interviews, with 30 informants; 11 Labwor, with 25 informants; 9 Bokora Karimojong, with 17 informants; 4 Matheniko Karimojong, with 7 informants; 1 Mothingo Karimojong, with 1 informant; 2 Ngitome Karimojong, with 2 informants; 2 Nyakwai, with 5 informants; 1 Marille, with 3 informants; and 1 Eyan, with 1 informant. Both Jie and non-Jie informants are listed in Appendix 1, at the end of this thesis.

me by Government Chiefs with informants to whom I was a total stranger, and moreover a stranger in the company of at least one young man who spoke the Jie dialect. Naturally, therefore, I have no doubt that there was considerably more suspicion about me in these other areas than was ever the case in Najie. Nevertheless, genuinely friendly relationships were established with a number of non-Jie elders and, on the whole, the non-Jie interviews satisfactorily provided me with the kind of comparative and corroborative data I had hoped they would.

Finally, it is worth noting that, in general, both Jie and non-Jie informants whom I interviewed proved to be far better informants than I had any reason to hope they would be, as the excerpts quoted from many of their testimonies in the following chapters will, I hope, at least partially demonstrate. At the expense of over-generalizing, it could be said that the most important attribute almost universally shared by informants was honesty. There was seldom any discernible attempt by informants to fabricate information on the spur of the moment to "please" me. In most cases, if informants did not know any traditions pertaining to a certain question, they would frankly say so.

It can be safely estimated that a third of all informants had an excellent knowledge of oral traditions by any standard. Most of these were men of the senior generation of the society, but some, as noted above, were younger men. Another third of the informants were extremely poor, and it was not uncommon to hear from them something similar to the counter-question quoted by



Dyson-Hudson: "It is long ago - such people are dead - who would know these things?"<sup>1</sup>

In fairness, then, the statements of two Jie elders who would be among those considered excellent informants should be quoted:

As noted in the first chapter of this thesis, previously  
 In your tribe do people not listen to what the grand-  
 fathers say? Do the old people talk about empty things?  
 The things which the elders tell about the past are  
 worth remembering, and so we remember. What man would  
 not try to remember the things his grandfather told him?<sup>2</sup>  
 How can people forget the things of the past? My father  
 told me these things and I shall tell my children. That  
 is the way it has always been. How could a man teach  
 his children if he forgot these things? How else could  
 a man be truly an elder? Only foolish men forget the  
 things their grandfathers have done.<sup>3</sup>

1 Dyson-Hudson, op.cit. p.258.

2 Inua (Lodweny) J-128.

3 Lodon (Kapelinyong) J-127.

1 Ugot, B.A., History of the Southwest Luo, Nairobi, 1967, p.53.

CHAPTER III

In these examinations of groups which pre-existed the formation of the present Central Paraniotic societies, and so on

THE BACKGROUND TO THE JIE GENESIS

secure a clear glimpse back through the haze of time.

As noted in the first chapter of this thesis, previously long before any of the Central Paraniotic-speaking groups were published accounts present seemingly irreconcilably dissimilar to occupy their present homelands, these lands were inhabited by pictures of the origin of the Jie and other Central Paraniotes: others. Although a great deal remains to be done, sufficient archaeological investigation has already been carried out to show that Gulliver and Nagashima concluding that the Jie entered Najie from the south-east; and Crazzolara believing they arrived from the west. Thriving Stone Age cultures once existed in many parts of Karamoja.

While both interpretations are based on kernels of historical fact, both are over-simplified and misleading. A careful collection and analysis of Jie oral tradition shows that they, like countless other peoples, African and non-African, cannot be thought of as having had any one single "origin". Far from being a matter of a more or less definable political entity moving from one point "A" to point "B", the Jie genesis is in fact the story of amalgamation and close inter-relationship between a great variety of peoples. To understand this complex story, it is necessary to examine the various groups

which (to borrow Professor Ogot's phrase) "have mingled in the crucible

To the best of my knowledge, no sites with definite association of history<sup>1</sup> to form the present Jie people. The story has its beginnings in the distant past, at a time long before any of the professional archaeological research has so far been done. Based on his present Central Paraniotic political communities had begun to come fairly rapid archaeological survey of the Kullido area in 1970, Dr. Charles Nelson suggested that there have been four discernible groups of inhabitants in Najie. While his "Group I" was represented by early eighteenth century. Oral tradition, therefore, is of only "Later Stone Age hunters and gatherers, having no pottery, agricultural equipment or stock", he does not suggest any connection between

1 Ogot, B.A., History of the Southern Luo, Nairobi, 1967, p.53.

1 See Cole, S. The Prehistory of East Africa, New York, 1965, pp.201-7.



limited help in these examinations of groups which pre-existed the formation of the present Central Paraniotic societies, and so one is forced to rely on additional means to secure a clear glimpse back through the haze of time.

Long before any of the Central Paraniotic-speaking groups were to occupy their present homelands, those lands were inhabited by others. Although a great deal remains to be done, sufficient archaeological investigation has already been carried out to show that thriving Stone Age cultures once existed in many parts of Karamoja. Although representative of a culture which once extended throughout much of eastern and southern Africa, and by no means central to the distribution of that culture, the type site of the Second Intermediate "Magosian" Culture is located at a water hole in the Magos Hills.<sup>1</sup> Microlithic tools, ostrich eggshell beads and stone balls similar to the Magosian type have been found at other sites in Karamoja, and both Wilson and Weatherby have found large numbers of bored stones (probably digging-stick weights) of the type associated with Magosi, although radio-carbon dates are so far entirely lacking.

To the best of my knowledge, no sites with definite Magosian associations have been located in Najie, but again, very little professional archaeological research has so far been done. Based on his fairly rapid archaeological survey of the Kotido area in 1970, Mr. Charles Nelson suggested that there have been four discernable groups of inhabitants in Najie. While his "Group I" was represented by "Later Stone Age hunters and gatherers, having no pottery, agricultural equipment or stock", he does not suggest any connection between

1 See Cole, S. The Prehistory of East Africa, New York, 1965, pp.201-7.

must have been turned on a wheel. <sup>1</sup> Similarly, them and the Magosian or any other earlier culture. stones set into the ground, "ubao-boards" set into stones, usually of four rows, very occasionally of two. Wilson, Sassoon and I have located sites in Najie which display abundant Late Stone Age artifacts, in some cases similar to, but stones, and rock paintings are also frequently found at, or very certainly later than, the Magosian culture.

Many of these sites are located in close proximity to natural rock cisterns, apparently indicating that a scarcity of surface water for at least part of the year is no recent phenomenon in Karamoja. While these sites are often found in or near rock shelters, others have been found in the open. Typical features of these Late Stone Age sites are microlithic tools: backed blades, crescents, awls and various bladelets, some no more than two cms. in length. They are often accompanied by larger scrapers (invariably fashioned from stones which could only have been "imported" from one of the formerly volcanic mountains such as Toror),<sup>2</sup> ostrich eggshell beads, stone mullers, and occasionally stone axes.

Also found at these sites, and presumably associated with the microlithic tools, are sherds of very thin pottery with a "deep grooved" design. Although substantial variations occur, the pottery invariably betrays an extremely high degree of skill and artistry.

Of the design, Sassoon has written: "the grooving is so extremely regular and perfect that one is constantly thinking that the pot

1 Nelson, C., "Report on Archaeological Survey of the Kotido Area, April 1970" a supplement to Uganda Monuments Section Monthly Report, April 1970.

2 I owe this observation to Mr. John Tether, Government Geologist, who inspected some of the artifacts I collected.



must have been turned on a wheel."<sup>1</sup> Rock slides, circles of flat stones set into the ground, "Ubao-boards" cut into stones (usually of four rows, very occasionally of two),<sup>2</sup> deep-basin grinding stones, and rock paintings are also frequently found at, or very near, these sites. While the rock paintings may well be associated with the artifacts of the Late Stone Age, it seems much less certain if the "ubao-boards", grinding stones, and stone circles belong to the Late Stone Age culture, or to later Iron Age cultures which have superimposed them on the pre-existing Late Stone Age sites.<sup>3</sup>

hunters, or an attempt to "bewitch" the animal depicted, as has often been conjectured.

- 1 Sassoon, H., Uganda Monuments Section Monthly Report, April 1970, p.2. Robbins, L.H., in "The Archaeology of Turkana District", an unpublished paper presented at Nairobi, 1970, pp.12-13, quite reasonably urges a cautious approach to this pottery until some radio carbon dates have been secured. Robbins is of the opinion that at least some of the pottery is early Iron Age. Still, it would seem virtually certain that some varieties (especially those of central and northern Karamoja) are closely associated with Late Stone Age industries.
- 2 Ubao (as it is called in Kiswahili, or urikilees in Ajie) is a popular game played virtually throughout the African Continent. Obviously of very ancient origin, E.J. Wayland ("Notes on the Board Game known as 'Mweso' in Uganda", U.J., 4, 1, 1936) has suggested that it may have come to Africa from the Middle East, and describes some Stone "ubao boards" in Teso District, Uganda, apparently very similar to those in Karamoja. More recently, M.B. Nsumbi (Omwesio. A Game People Play in Uganda, Kampala, 1969) has suggested that the game may have originated in Uganda.

Other holes cut into rocks in various parts of Najie were clearly not "Ubao-boards", and were probably used, either for crushing wild fruits or for shaping iron cow bells. (See Appendix 5, at the end of this thesis.)

a kind of "stage" or "altar".

- 3 A number of the archaeological sites which I personally investigated are described in Appendix 5, "Notes on Some Archaeological Sites in Northern and Central Karamoja", at the end of this thesis.

rock paintings, and fine "deep-grooved" pottery appears to correspond

- 1 In personal communication, His thesis will presumably be contained in the thesis he is currently writing on the oral history of the Teso.



Wilson and Weatherby have found rock paintings (often of giraffes or elephants in dark red or white) at several Karamoja sites, while Sassoon has located faint paintings which appear to include a set of concentric circles at Kalobur in Najie, and Wilson has found a set of very finely done miniature animals (possibly sheep) at the same site. Weatherby, basing his ideas on hints in Tepes oral tradition, has recently suggested<sup>1</sup> that in many cases the paintings had a deep religious significance to the cultures which produced them, and were not merely the scribblings of idle hunters, or an attempt to "bewitch" the animal depicted, as has so often been conjectured.

Weatherby's ideas seem to be supported by the discovery of a set of paintings near Madang on the Jie-Dodos frontier by Wilson and myself early in 1971. Although faint, and in some cases partially worn away, the paintings appear to have been mainly of geometric symbols, with the possible exception of what seems to be a human figure drawing a bow. The really unique feature of the site, however, is a considerable number of stones set into a series of concentric semi-circles all facing in towards the rock face on which the symbols are painted. The effect is one of a large open air amphitheatre with all attention focused on the paintings. A natural rock platform which extends out over the paintings could well have been employed as a kind of "stage" or "alter".

This Late Stone Age culture with its microlithic tools, symbolic rock paintings, and fine "deep-grooved" pottery appears to correspond

1 In personal communication. His ideas will presumably be contained in the thesis he is currently writing on the oral history of the Tepes.



Wilson further holds that much of what is now central and northern Karamoja was subsequently occupied by a Kalenjin-speaking group of tools, but with pottery and possibly stock.<sup>1</sup> The identification of this culture with any group in oral tradition, however, remains

more of a problem. Wilson's ideas deserve careful and serious attention,

there is absolutely no hint of any previous Oropom occupation of Naji.

In a recent paper,<sup>2</sup> Mr. John Wilson, who has spent many years in the oral tradition, while Oropom and/or other Bushmanoid groups studying the remnants of the Oropom people in southern Karamoja, may well have been the original inhabitants of Naji, their presence argues that the Oropom may well have been the very early inhabitants would have been of so remote a date that there is no recollection of of a vast part of East Africa including most of the territory now inhabited by the Central Paraniotes. From the physiognomy of surviving Paraniotic groups. There is, on the other hand, some indication of individuals, Wilson suggests that the Oropom may have been a Bushmanoid the presence of early Kalenjin groups in these traditions (as mentioned group<sup>3</sup>, and based on his own impressive archaeological investigations below) and, indeed, as Wilson has noted, their former occupation seems and on Oropom oral traditions which he has collected, he concludes that attested to by the survival of a number of Kalenjin place names. the Oropom possessed a remarkably sophisticated Late Stone Age culture, of which the "deep-grooved" pottery was a product.<sup>4</sup>

of a pre-existing population, possibly associated with the Late Stone

1 Nelson, Ibid. Although I am not certain, I believe that by "stock", Nelson is referring only to small stock: sheep and goats.

2 Wilson, J.G., "Preliminary Observations on the Oropom People of Karamoja", unpublished ms., soon to be published in the Uganda Journal. I am grateful to Mr. Wilson for giving me a copy of his paper prior to its publication and discussing with me on several occasions many of his ideas concerning the early history of Karamoja.

3 Linguistically, however, the Oropom present considerable problems. In a recent examination of a 97-word vocabulary list collected by the Wilson, Professor Tucker of SOAS was able to identify only 38 words. About one third of these were Central Paraniotic words, while an additional seven were Maasai, six were Bari, and six were Nilotic. One Hadza word, apaukoo (foot), appeared but was the only identifiably Khoisan word in the list.

4 Wilson has further suggested that the so-called "stone axes" found at many of these Late Stone Age sites were in fact horn-hammers used by the Oropom to shape the horns of both cattle and small stock. A number of Wilson's archaeological ideas are contained in a paper "Recent Archaeological Finds in Karamoja District Uganda and Related Finds in Kenya", as yet, regrettably, unpublished.



Wilson further holds that much of what is now central and northern Karamoja was subsequently occupied by a Kalenjin-speaking group of pastoralists, akin to the present-day Marille and Pokot.

While many of Wilson's ideas deserve careful and serious attention, there is absolutely no hint of any previous Oropom occupation of Najie in Jie oral tradition. While Oropom and/or other Bushmanoid groups may well have been the original inhabitants of Najie, their presence would have been of so remote a date that there is no recollection of it in the oral traditions of the Jie, and most of the other Central Paraniotic groups. There is, on the other hand, some indication of the presence of early Kalenjin groups in these traditions (as mentioned below) and, indeed, as Wilson has noted, their former occupation seems attested to by the survival of a number of Kalenjin place names.

However, the clearest recollections in Jie traditional history of a pre-existing population, possibly associated with the Late Stone Age sites, almost invariably refer to a group which came to be called "Ngikuliak". It is highly probable that this group originally spoke what Professor Tucker has termed a "Fringe Cushitic" language,<sup>1</sup> and was related to the other Fringe Cushitic-speakers in Karamoja: the Tepes (or Sorat), the Nyangea, and the Teuso (or Ik). It seems likely that the Ngikuliak formed a central link in a more or less unbroken chain of Fringe Cushitic groups which extended the whole length of Karamoja, from the Tepes on Mt. Moroto in the south, to the Teuso on

2. Andremori (and others), 3-7.

1 See Tucker, A.N., "Fringe Cushitic", SOAS Bulletin, XXX, 3, 1967. I would like to express my appreciation to Professor Tucker for the considerable time he has spent helping me to understand many of the linguistic aspects of the non-Bantu languages of East Africa.



Mt. Mogilla in the north.

They originally spoke the Ngiruwatwol language.

The oral traditions of all the present Central Paraniotic

groups in Karamoja definitely recall that the Fringe Cushitic-

speakers were earlier inhabitants of their present areas:

The Nyangesa did not come here to this land with the Dodos. They were already living here when we arrived. Nor did the Teuso come from anywhere else, but have always lived at Morungole where the Dodos found them. They were trappers and traded game-meat and gourds to the Dodos for goats. They collected honey and grew small gardens.<sup>1</sup>

The Ngikuliak are magic. If any misfortune befalls them, it will also befall the Jie. That is because they are the oldest people in Najie. God put them here. Orwakol (the leader of one group of Paraniotic-speaking Jie) found them here when he came. They were the first.<sup>2</sup>

God created the Tepes on their mountain, Moroto. When the Karimojong came here to this land, the Tepes were already on the mountains - Moroto, Napak and Kadam.<sup>3</sup>

While there is general agreement in most Jie traditions that the Ngikuliak were a pre-Jie group, there is less agreement concerning their original linguistic affiliation. Some informants claimed that they spoke a Paraniotic language, "something like Ajie, but with stammers and terrible sounds",<sup>4</sup> while many others expressed a belief that the Ngikuliak were in fact originally Fringe Cushitic-speaking:

1 Yosia Akure (and others), D-2.

2 Akuremeri (and others), J-7.

3 Emanikor and Lodum, MTK-1.

4 Nakade (Peter) J-57.

The Ngikuliak were the same as the 'Ngiruwatwol' (People of the decorated calabashes, ie. Teuso). They originally spoke the Ngiruwatwol language. They were both trappers, both 'Wa-Dorobo'.<sup>1</sup>

As will be shown below, it appears that the Ngikuliak lost their original language at a fairly early date, considerably before the formation of a distinct political entity called "Ngi-Jie". It is not surprising, therefore, that some informants should be unaware of any tradition suggesting that the Ngikuliak were once linguistically akin to the Teuso. Indeed the Ngikuliak, far more than the Tepes or Teuso, have been almost completely absorbed into Paranilotic society, and so in some ways it is difficult to reconstruct a clear picture of them as they existed before the eighteenth century Jie genesis.

Nevertheless, it is important to try to reconstruct at least some picture of the Ngikuliak as they existed prior to that time. Two

1 Apalodokoro (and others) J-23. Although Apalodokoro, a former Jie parish chief, used the Kiswahili term "Wa-Dorobo" to describe the Ngikuliak and Teuso, he most certainly did not mean to imply any specific relationship between the Ngikuliak and the Okiek peoples. Rather, he was merely expressing the fact that all were of similar in that they were trappers.

C.M. Turnbull ("The Ik: Alias the Teuso", U.J., 31, 1967) has collected a Teuso story of creation "remarkably similar to the Dorobo" and notes that some Teuso elders call themselves "wandorobo". Despite this and the fact that the attitude of the Jie and the other Central Paranilotes towards the Fringe Cushitic-speakers is expressed in a way uncannily similar to the way the Pastoral Maasai regard the Okiek, any definite association between the two groups of trappers has certainly not been established.

1 In "Okiek history", p.13, a manuscript which is soon to be published as Chapter I of the forthcoming volume, Annals of Pre-Colonial history of Kenya (S.A. Ogot, ed.), Mr. E. N. Blackburn, who has recently done extensive field-work among Okiek groups in Kenya, lists a number of such misconceptions regarding the Okiek, a number of which are precisely the same as those perpetuated by the Jie about the Ngikuliak. I am grateful to Mr. Blackburn for supplying me with off-prints of his chapter prior to its publication.



of the Ngikuliak as they existed before the advent of the Paranilotic-compact Jie clans and one dispersed one (the Ngikuliak themselves and the Ngadakori of Kotiang, and the dispersed Lokwor of Kotiang and Kotido (see Fig.1) ) seem clearly to be descended mainly from their Ngikuliak ancestors, and (as will be shown later) the Ngikuliak were to form considerable symbiotic relationships with the Jie to provide an all-important refuge for impoverished Jie during much of the eighteenth and especially the late nineteenth centuries.

At the time of my research, only a few families who still referred to themselves as "Ngikuliak" existed in Najie. There was a marked tendency for these remnants to depict themselves as "thoroughly Jie" to all enquiries, although their truly Paranilotic neighbours referred to their alien origin in a very definite (and often contemptuous) way. Undoubtedly some of the traditions of originally Paranilotic-speaking clans concerning the way of life of the Ngikuliak must be treated with caution, as they sometimes embody the misconception so often perpetuated by Paranilotic-speaking peoples about those pre-existing groups which they come to dominate.<sup>1</sup> Many such Jie traditions present a picture of the Ngikuliak as "worthless people" who "lived in the forests like baboons". However, some Ngikuliak informants (including Lomare, the senior elder of one of the remnant families, and a famous diviner) were able to overcome their suspicions and provided invaluable information which, when taken together with information contained in some of the more reliable Jie traditions, provided at least some glimpse

1 In "Okiek History", p.13, a manuscript which is soon to be published as Chapter I of the forthcoming volume, Aspects of Pre-Colonial History of Kenya (B.A. Ogot, Ed.), Mr. R. H. Blackburn, who has recently done extensive field-work among Okiek groups in Kenya, lists a number of such misconceptions regarding the Okiek, a number of which are precisely the same as those perpetuated by the Jie about the Ngikuliak. I am grateful to Mr. Blackburn for supplying me with off-prints of his chapter prior to its publication. and apparently some tunes of Ngikuliak origin have been used for more recent Jie-composed lyrics. The "Loceno" and "Awangaki" of this song were Ngikuliak leaders.



of the Ngikuliak as they existed before the advent of the Paraniotic-speakers.

As in the Jie traditions, Ngikuliak informants claimed that their ancestors were the original inhabitants of Najie, and, while no specific relationship with the Teuso or any other Fringe-Cushitic-speaking group was ever admitted, it was stated that their ancestors once spoke another language, totally unlike Ajie.<sup>1</sup> Both Ngikuliak and Jie informants agreed that they, like the other Fringe Cushitic-speakers, were a hill people, and although they appear to have had some settlements on the plains, their real homes were on the isolated hills and mountains of Najie, as a song recalls:

- |     |   |     |   |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| I   | Ara Maru nyekosia,<br>Iye ya.<br>Nyemoru kata Loceno<br>Nyemoru kata Awangaki | I   | Maru (mountain) was ours,<br>Iye ya.<br>Mountain of Loceno.<br>Mountain of Awangaki |
| II  | Ara Toror nyekosia<br>(refrain)   | II  | Toror (mountain) was ours,<br>(refrain)   |
| III | Ara Kotidani nyekosia<br>(refrain)  | III | Kotidani (hill) was ours,<br>(refrain) <sup>2</sup>                                 |

The mountain considered by the Ngikuliak as their original home is Maru, west of the Dopeth River, and outside of what was to become the permanently settled area of Najie (see Map 1). Archaeological

- 1 The former Ngikuliak language now appears to be entirely forgotten, except for possibly the survival of a few Ngikuliak place names (most of them Onomatopoeic), and a single specific word, pidic, recalled in both Jie and Ngikuliak traditions. The word, meaning "to put something away or out of sight", is quite unlike the Ajie kiwa. Lokiru, the Tepes research assistant Mr. John Weatherby, has expressed his belief that it is a Teuso word.
- 2 Nyaramoe, Lokong (Israel), and a group of women, J-37. An exceptionally large number of Ngikuliak songs seem to be remembered. Most, like this one, are sung in Ajie, although some contain a few non-Ajie words. Some Jie informants (rather grudgingly) admitted that the Ngikuliak were able to compose very pretty songs, and apparently some tunes of Ngikuliak origin have been used for more recent Jie-composed lyrics. The "Loceno" and "Awangaki" of this song were Ngikuliak leaders.



investigations at Maru (and a nearby rock outcropping called Nasakodomoru), and at Kalobur in the western part of Nakapelimoru territorial division, which is also recalled as a former Ngikuliak settlement, have revealed extensive settlement sites containing the typical Late Stone Age artifacts mentioned above.<sup>1</sup> Lomare, the most knowledgeable Skuliakit informant interviewed, stated that in the past his people made stone tools, and expressed the opinion that his female ancestors made the "deep-grooved" pottery. Certainly clay pipe bowls found at Maru and at other sites which could definitely be associated with the Ngikuliak bore designs of an artistry which closely matched that of the "deep-grooved" pottery.<sup>2</sup> Unlike any Jie informant, Lomare seemed well acquainted with the rock paintings at Kalobur, and described an additional set at Maru, claiming they were the work of his Ngikuliak ancestors and were a means of identifying various Ngikuliak camp-sites.<sup>3</sup>

The Ngikuliak informants agreed with Jie traditions that place in this way:

- 1 See Appendix 2. Relatively few Late Stone Age artifacts were found at the sites on Maru itself, but as these sites were occupied by Ngikuliak bands until well into the nineteenth century it is not surprising that artifacts of later dates were found in greater profusion. It is significant that a rock shelter in nearby Nasakodomoru which was apparently abandoned by the Ngikuliak at a much earlier date contained artifacts almost exclusively of the typical Late Stone Age industry.
- 2 Most of the Jie informants who were asked to identify the makers of the "deep-grooved" pottery were unable to do so. Those who did almost invariably named the Ngikuliak, but of course this may have been because they naturally supposed that as the pottery was not Jie, it must therefore have been made by the only non-Paranilotic group which Jie tradition clearly remembers as having been previous occupants of Najie.
- 3 Lomare, J-129. This interview was conducted jointly with Mr. John Weatherby whose Tepes research assistant, Lokiru, was also present. Despite several careful searches, the paintings at Maru were never found. I am very grateful to Mr. Weatherby and to Lokiru for the close co-operation they gave me in various of my Ngikuliak investigations.



gathering played an important part in their economic life, and named the wild roots ngacupeno, ngielo, and ngaboye as most important.<sup>1</sup> They further indicated, however, that trapping was not traditionally as important as many of the Jie traditions made out, but that hunting did play some role in their economic life. Hunting and gathering activities were augmented by cultivation. Although Jie informants spoke scornfully of their "tiny gardens", and the Ngikuliak themselves readily admitted that the later-arriving Paranilotes had superior agricultural techniques, the Ngikuliak seem to have developed an agricultural system well suited to their life in the hills, including a system of terracing, still evident on the steep western slopes of Maru. Gardens were tilled with sharpened digging sticks (ngabothanin), and both men and women took an active part in all phases of cultivation.<sup>2</sup>

Their main crop, and the one considered their original, was finger millet (ngakima). Its discovery is supposed to have taken place in this way:

Long ago the Ngikuliak cultivated no food, but collected only that which grew in the bush. Then one day some people noticed a few grains of finger millet near the nest of some seekurit ants. They dug down into the nest and found more of it. They decided to plant it in the ground, and it grew, and people began to cultivate it for food. And so finger millet became the first crop of the Ngikuliak.<sup>3</sup>

This story is peculiar to the Ngikuliak. No Jie informant ever related it, and indeed the Paranilotic traditions are unanimous that

1 From information he had readily at hand, Mr. Wilson identified ngaboye as Dioscorea sp.

2 Lomare, Looru, and Lomugur (Locan) J-78, and Lomare, J-129.

3 Lomare, J-129.



sorghum was their original crop, with finger millet gaining some importance only in the fairly recent past. It is probably of great significance, therefore, that Weatherby has had exactly the same tale recounted to him by Tepes informants, who also regard finger millet as their original crop.

In relatively recent times, at least, tobacco is also recalled to have been an important crop, and the Ngikuliak claim to have known of it well before the Jie. Obviously, however, tobacco could only have been introduced in post-Columbian times. Nevertheless, as clay pipe-bowls found at some Ngikuliak sites appear to be associated with very early pre-iron cultures, and as Ngikuliak traditions indicate that pipe-smoking was of such importance as to form part of certain ritual observances, one must suspect that tobacco - smoking was preceded by the smoking of some other plant, such as hemp.<sup>1</sup>

Honey-gathering was also an important facet of Ngikuliak economic life, and honey is remembered as one of the items used for bride-wealth in traditional Ngikuliak society. The few remnant Ngikuliak families still appear to know more about the various types of bees than most Jie.

Of domestic animals, perhaps the most important to the Ngikuliak

1 I owe this observation to Professor Oliver.

Ritual pipe-smoking amongst the Ngikuliak was performed during childbirth ceremonies. Although the women of the Dodos, northern neighbours of the Jie, are avid pipe-smokers, there is general agreement amongst most Jie that their own ancestors never indulged in the practice. The remnant Ngikuliak families have also allowed the practice to lapse in recent years.

The remnant Ngikuliak now refer to themselves by that name and have forgotten any previous name by which their group may formerly have been known.

3 Letling (Krothowan, and Leogoyang, J-123).



were dogs (presumably used in their hunting activities), and some Jie traditions spoke of the Ngikuliak formerly owning packs of up to one hundred.<sup>1</sup> In all probability they also owned sheep and goats, but not in very significant numbers. It is virtually certain that before the coming of the Paranilotes they owned no cattle, and even after their arrival many Ngikuliak families resisted owning them until very recently.

Although virtually all Jie informants were in definite agreement that the Ngikuliak were originally without cattle (and indeed Ngikuliak informants expressed the same traditions),<sup>2</sup> the Jie informants of two interviews told versions of a peculiar tradition which seemed at first to indicate that the Ngikuliak in fact knew of cattle even before the Paranilotic-speakers:

One day long ago an Ekuliakit called Lobeimoe went from Maru to Daidai and saw a cow and a bull there. Those were the first cattle that the Ngikuliak had seen. He went back to Maru and told the others about those strange animals. He returned to Daidai and this time saw six cattle. He told the Ngikuliak and also the Jie about them. The Jie and the Ngikuliak went together to trap those animals. They surrounded the whole area and killed all the wild animals, which tried to run away. But the cattle stood quietly and the people captured them. But it was the Jie, and not the Ngikuliak, who began to keep cattle, although Lobeimoe discovered them first.<sup>3</sup>

A second tradition, although similar is expressed in a rather different way:

1 Apua, J-114.

2 The very names "Ngikuliak" (for the people) and "Kulok" (for the group itself) are derived from akilok, Ajie for "to trap". By implication the name is applied to any "poor people" without cattle. The remnant Ngikuliak now refer to themselves by that name and have forgotten any previous name by which their group may formerly have been known.

3 Lomere, J-129.  
3 Lotiang (Ekothowan), and Lengoyang, J-123.



The Ngikuliak have always been at Maru. No-one knows where they came from. They were the first people to learn about cattle. One day when they were out hunting they saw a cow grazing with wild animals at Daidai. They tried to capture it, but failed. They went back a second time and saw that the cow had a calf. They went a third time and saw three cattle. They went and told the Jie about those animals. The gazelles and the other wild animals ran away, but the cattle stood quietly and the Jie captured them. The Ngikuliak were foolish and ran off after the gazelles. The Jie saw the calf nursing from its mother, and as they were clever, they tasted that milk and found it was good. And so it was the Jie who began keeping cattle although the Ngikuliak found them first.<sup>1</sup>

The Jie informants who related these traditions were from Lokatap and Kotiang territorial divisions, respectively: the two divisions which have experienced the closest contacts with the Ngikuliak (and undoubtedly, water was an especially difficult problem and dictated are usually the most scornful of them). The traditions clearly incorporate elements of an entirely separate Jie tradition (see Ch. IV, below), but are probably based mainly on a Ngikuliak tradition which explains how some of them joined with the Paraniotes after their arrival in Najie:

In the time of Ngikoria, the Ngikuliak used to go from Maru to Lakodokodwoi well at Dopeth for their water. Then one day they found hoof-prints there and followed them into the bush where they saw a bull and a cow. Those were the first cattle the Ngikuliak had seen. Lobeimoe was the man who actually found them, and he captured them and took them back to Maru. He gave the bull five calabashes of water and the cow four. They drank the water quickly and the other Ngikuliak were alarmed, saying, "Those animals will drink all our water. Let us kill them." But he (Lobeimoe) said, "No, don't kill them. Let me take them back to the place where I found them, and I shall water them there." So he took them to Dopeth and gave them water, and he went on to Lokwor in Kotiang and settled there with his cattle. Because he had those cattle he joined with the Jie and founded the Lokwor and Ngadakori clans.<sup>2</sup>

1 Modo (and others) J-25.

2 Lomare, J-129.



From this it can reasonably be suggested that the Jie versions are told, not so much to suggest that the Ngikuliak were the original cattle owners (which all other evidence contradicts), but to underscore the "foolishness" of the Ngikuliak in which so many Jie firmly believe.<sup>1</sup>

If a Jie tradition can be trusted, the Ngikuliak seem to have been fairly numerous people in the past, for they are recalled to have been "so numerous as to completely surround the base of Maru when they danced the elilia (a circle dance)." <sup>2</sup> It would seem likely, however, that the Ngikuliak seldom assembled in any large numbers, but rather spent much of their time moving as fragmentary bands between the widely scattered hills and other localities which were their temporary homes. Undoubtedly, water was an especially difficult problem and dictated much of this movement, as is recalled in another Ngikuliak song:

Tepe nyakiru Maru, apena atowoto inaa:	There is rain at Maru, let us move there.
Eee, apena atowoto inaa.	Eee, let us move there.
Atepe nyakiru Lokiding, apena atowoto inaa.	There is rain at Lokiding, let us move there.
Atepe nyakiru Kotiang, apena atowoto inaa.	There is rain at Kotiang let us move there. <sup>3</sup>

1 The Jie versions are extremely similar to a Bari tradition in which the 'dupi (suppressed) clans which occupied the Bari area prior to the arrival of the Bari lui (free) clans lose their cattle to the incoming lui because of their foolishness. See Whitehead, G.O., "Suppressed Classes Among the Bari", SNR, XXXIV, 1953, p.274. A parallel to the Jie versions can also be seen in the Pastoral Maasai myth concerning the origin of cattle in which the Dorobo are the original cattle owners before losing them, again through their own foolishness. The myth is recorded in several sources including Hollis, A.C., The Maasai, Oxford, 1905, pp.266-9.

2 Apalodokoro (and others), J-23. If this can be taken literally, it would mean that the Ngikuliak numbered at least a couple of thousand. However, it should be noted that the concept of a people completely encircling the base of a mountain seems a popular one in Central Paraniotic tradition, and appears also in a Dodos tradition concerning the Poot group (D-3) and in a Nyakwai tradition concerning themselves (NY-2).

3 Adome, J-62.



Any more detailed reconstruction of their traditional socio-political organisation is difficult to achieve from the oral traditions. Ngikuliak informants do not remember any names of constituent clans which their group may have once had, and the present sub-divisions of the remnant Ngikuliak group can be best described as extended families, rather than clans or sub-clans (see the preceding chapters). Jie traditions, although almost certainly exaggerated, indicate that the Ngikuliak social system was quite different from the Jie: cal powers, as

The Ngikuliak had no clans like we do. They could marry whomever they pleased, even from their own family. Their wives were their own kinfolk. They didn't have to marry outside like other people.<sup>1</sup>

Political power seems to have been vested in individual leaders, of whom Awangaki<sup>2</sup> (a noted emuron, or diviner, who died at the beginning of this century) seems best remembered and also typical of his predecessors. Whether such leadership by individuals was confined to specific assistant, Lokira, dropped nine which led Lokira to conclude that the bands, or whether it extended over the entire group is really not clear. Nor is it clear in what manner these leaders were chosen, or to what extent they could exercise power.

Some recollection of the Ngikuliak religion is retained in the traditions. This religion appears to have been quite different from the Jie, and seems to have been centred on a spirit cult. Although considerable mystery surrounds their ritual practices, some Jie informants expressed the belief that the Ngikuliak "could talk with their dead people, to the spirits of their ancestors." It is notable that although the Jie are in many ways scornful of the Ngikuliak, they are nonetheless

<sup>2</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Weatherby. See also his article, "A Preliminary Note on the Dorak (Tepeti)", *Id.*, 33, 1969.

<sup>1</sup> Lower (Elizeo) and Lobul, J-106.

<sup>2</sup> The name means "the one with protruding ears", supposedly a common physical characteristic of the Ngikuliak.

universally believed to have close links with the supernatural.<sup>1</sup>

Weatherby's study of the Tepes has shown that their socio-religious system was based largely on an important spirit cult known as acuyenit. Weatherby argues convincingly that it was largely the acuyenit which has ensured the survival of the Tepes as an independent group, although completely surrounded by the dominant and expanding Karimojong. It seems likely that the Karimojong, standing in awe of Tepes mystical powers, as exercised in the acuyenit rituals, have always been reluctant to drive the Tepes from their mountain homes.<sup>2</sup> My own Karimojong informants largely supported Weatherby's picture, and clearly regard the Tepes acuyenit with much the same respect as the Jie regard the mystical powers of the Ngikuliak. Although Ngikuliak informants were extremely reluctant to discuss any aspect of their religion with either Weatherby or myself, the informant Lomare in a private conversation with Weatherby's Tepes assistant, Lokiru, dropped hints which led Lokiru to conclude that the Ngikuliak not only had a spirit cult, but one which possibly may have borne a close resemblance to the acuyenit.

As will be mentioned again below, the Ngikuliak appear to have experienced considerable cultural and linguistic influences from non-Fringe Cushitic-speaking sources by the time of the arrival of the main

1 Lokec (Lomorumoe) and others, J-49. It is commonly believed that trespassers into Ngikuliak holy places will be struck by lightning. Several Jie refused to accompany me on trips to Ngikuliak habitation sites, and even two of my research assistants, young men with a good bit of education and outside contact, were extremely nervous during investigations of Ngikuliak caves and highland areas.

2 Personal communication with Mr. Weatherby. See also his article, "A Preliminary Note on the Sorat (Tepeth)", U.J., 33, 1969.



language does exhibit heavy Kalenjin borrowings, and so it is perhaps proto-Jie elements in Najie in the early eighteenth century. By that time, circumcision appears to have become one of their cultural features. Some Jie informants referred to them as "the circumcised ones" in oral traditions, while the Ngikuliak themselves admitted to songs about circumcision which are still sung on ritual occasions:

Isuwa ngisecec, isuwa ngibolony. We the spoilt ones, we the circumcised.

Eee, Isuwa ngilenger, isuwa ngibolony. Eee, we the circumcised, the circumcised.<sup>1</sup>

Because circumcision does not appear to have been a cultural trait of either the Fringe Cushitic or Central Paraniotic-speaking groups, and because oral evidence and surviving place names (some very close to known areas of Ngikuliak occupation) indicate an early Kalenjin-speaking population, it would seem possible that the Ngikuliak may well have borrowed circumcision from that source. The original Ngikuliak language seems to have been so entirely eclipsed by Paraniotic speech that it would be impossible now to detect any Kalenjin loan-words which might reinforce this theory. Still, the Tepes

1 Adome, J-62. It is interesting that two different words for "circumcised" appear in this song. One, ngilenger, is the usual Central Paraniotic word, while the other, ngibolony, is of uncertain derivation.

The Jie are more scornful of the Ngikuliak practice of circumcision than any other aspect of their early culture. Very often Jie traditions describing the Ngikuliak practice link it with highly erotic or disgusting activities also supposedly performed by the Ngikuliak. For their part, the Ngikuliak informants were always most embarrassed by any questions dealing with circumcision, and sometimes maintained that their ancestors were merely born without foreskins, and that no intentional circumcision operation was performed. Circumcision is certainly not practiced now by the Ngikuliak.

language does exhibit heavy Kalenjin borrowings, and so it is perhaps reasonable to conjecture that Kalenjin influence may have extended into the linguistic as well as the cultural realm of the Ngikuliak.

By the time of the eighteenth century Jie genesis, the Ngikuliak had clearly experienced other contacts which were to alter their previous language to a Paranilotic dialect. Traditions (such as the one recorded above on p. 139), indicate that when Proto-Jie elements from Koten arrived in Najie and first made contact with the Ngikuliak, they were already speaking a language which was at least similar to Ajie.<sup>1</sup> The Paranilotic-speaking group from whom the Ngikuliak may have borrowed a Paranilotic dialect before the eighteenth century is discussed below. What is important to emphasise here is that clearly inter-actions between different peoples had gone on in what is now Najie long before the inception of any group called "Jie".

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An examination of the Paranilotic-speaking peoples who were to provide the basic elements of an incipient Jie group is best begun by focusing attention on a concentration of peoples who once lived in the area of Koten and the Magos Hills and eastwards to the escarpment hills of east-central Karamoja (see Map 3). It was upon this concentration that both Gulliver and Nagashima based their historical reconstructions, and it is this concentration which has received the most attention in previously published sources (see pp. 44-50, Ch. I above). Indeed, elements of this concentration were to become a major

1 Some informants (for example Lower (Elizeo) and Lobul, J-106) indicated that although the Ngikuliak language "sounded like Ajie", it was largely unintelligible to the first Ajie-speaking pioneers who arrived from Koten.



tions indicates the south-eastern corner of the present Republic of the Sudan as the previous home of the Koten-Magos group. In no instance to influence its linguistic, economic, and socio-political development was there any specific indication as to when this move from the north may have occurred: rather, it was "long, long ago" - perhaps at the very beginning of time.

While it is again worth emphasising that very accurate dating for the history of the Jie prior to about 1700 is manifestly impossible, the oral traditions of this "Koten-Magos" group<sup>1</sup> (very much like those of, and about, the early Ngikuliak) do contain some information concerning that group prior to the earliest of those events to which a more or less definite date can be assigned by use of the asapanu (generation-set) system. (See the preceding chapter).

Clans which can trace their ancestry back to the Koten-Magos concentration are now found among the Jie, Karimojong, Turkana, and Dodos (and quite possibly among other Central-Paranilotic speaking peoples as well). In each tribal group, such clans share a common (if rather vague) tradition of having come to the Koten-Magos area from the north. The following Karimojong tradition is representative:

In the beginning, all the people (of these clans) from among the Karimojong, Jie, Dodos, Toposa, and Turkana - came together from a place called 'Dongiro' which is far to the north, in the place called Sudan.<sup>2</sup>

In other traditions, the place in the north is variously termed "Toposa", "Nabi", or simply "Sudan" and the aggregate of these tradi-

1 An alternative name for this group could be the "Karimojong Cluster", as suggested by Gulliver. I have decided against using this term as I feel strongly that it implies an ethnocentric position of the present Karimojong peoples unwarranted by the oral traditions. As much as I respect Webster's attempts to coin a name from Central Paranilotic terminology, I must also reject his term "Ateker", for although it may be meaningful to the Iteso, it certainly does not convey the same picture of a "family of related tribes" to the Jie and the other Paranilotic-speaking peoples of Karamoja.

2 Loru (Enosi) BK-1.

tions indicates the south-eastern corner of the present Republic of the Sudan as the previous home of the Koton-Magos group. In no instance was there any specific indication as to when this move from the north area:

may have occurred: rather, it was "long, long ago - perhaps at the very time when the world began".<sup>1</sup>

There is general agreement that the people who came from the north were (at least by present Central Paraniotic standards) relatively poor, with only very limited numbers of livestock and rudimentary agriculture:

When the people came from the north, they had cattle, but only a few. They were really trappers. They would go into the bush to trap wild animals and to gather honey.<sup>2</sup>

(Before the dispersal of the Koton-Magos concentration) the people cultivated, but they had only very small gardens. The only crop they knew how to grow was sorghum. There was too much sun in that area to grow very much.<sup>3</sup>

All indications are that hunting and gathering were probably the chief economic occupations of the group at the time of its migration from the north. The subsidiary occupations of animal husbandry and agriculture seem to have been of about equal importance.

Jie traditions universally claim that "God gave us cattle and sorghum on the same day."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Esak (Timothy) J-126.

<sup>2</sup> Lokimak T-14.

<sup>3</sup> Pelekec (and others) T-7.

<sup>4</sup> It should also be noted that Jie oral tradition is apparently without any of the mythological tales of the origin of cattle so common amongst truly pastoral groups such as the Pastoral Maasai. Diversity of Nairobi, I must confess I am still at a loss to explain why this should be so.



Another Jie tradition, if it can be accepted, provides additional information about the group prior to its arrival in the Koten-Magos area:

The reason why the Jie and the other people came to Koten was because an old woman called Nepeikisina (the one-breasted one) came from a long way off, crossing many rivers, to the land where they lived. She had a long knife with which she slew many people. The Jie and the others fled till they came to a large body of water which was too wide to cross. One of the women of the group begged God to make a path in the water, and the waters opened and the people crossed. Napeikisina followed them, but the waters closed and Napeikisina was swept away. The Jie and the others continued their journey. They had cattle, sheep and goats with them, but they had no iron spears or knives. They used only sticks for fighting, and they had bows and blocked arrows to draw blood from their animals. At that time it was the custom for the women to walk naked, but on the way they grew ashamed, and the men slaughtered goats to provide skins for them. On their way the people also discovered gourds and learned to cultivate them.<sup>1</sup>

Those parts of this tradition concerned with "Napeikisina", and especially the parting of the waters, are to be found in the mythology of many African peoples. Vansina (*op.cit.*, pp.73-4), terming this type of story "wandersagen", listed the appearance of the "parting of the waters" tale in no less than 25 societies, as widely separated as the Maasai and the Ashanti. The Jie tale (which is also told to children

in a slightly different form as a kind of folk-tale) seems to have

been borrowed from the Turkana, who, in turn, had picked it up from

peoples living even further east, possibly the Samburu. Indeed, Looru,

1 Looru (Sampson), J-9. There seems to be very little true mythology in the traditions of any Central Paraniotic people with which I am acquainted. It is a curious feature of that which does exist that female characters often play a leading role, such as in this tradition. Despite suggestions kindly offered me at a seminar at the University of Nairobi, I must confess I am still at a loss to explain why this should be so.



the Jie informant who related the tale, differed from all other Jie informants in stating that the group came to Koten, not from the north, but from the east, in the direction of Turkana-land and Lake Rudolf.

While the possibility of one group arriving at Koten from the east cannot, of course, be ruled out, it would seem far more likely that the Napeikisina saga has merely been imposed on a more straightforward and factual (and much duller) account of the arrival of the Koten-Magos group from the north. If this were so, then the tradition, stripped of its embellishments, may indicate that the group left their previous homeland because of incursions of hostile peoples (represented in this version by the terrible female ogre), and that at the time of their migration they owned and bred livestock, were ignorant of iron, and permitted female nudity. Part of this picture would seem to be supported by other vague Jie recollections that "long ago the Jie used only sharp stones for their tools and weapons",<sup>1</sup> and equally vague hints that Jie women were once unclothed.

Be this as it may, some Jie traditions more explicitly recall that when the group arrived in the Koten-Magos area they found others there before them:

When the Jie and the others arrived in the Koten area, they found the Upe (Pokot) were already there. The Upe were the first people of that area. The (people who were to become) Bokora Karimojong quarrelled with them and fought them and drove them away to the south.<sup>2</sup>

1 Nakade (Peter), J-118. In no case was there ever any suggestion that the Koten-Magos Jie were their own iron-makers. Most informants agreed that iron was not commonly used until the development of their close economic association with the iron-making Labwor. This is mentioned only in passing here, as a great deal is to be said about the iron trade below.

2 Igira (Yaramoe) and others, J-17.

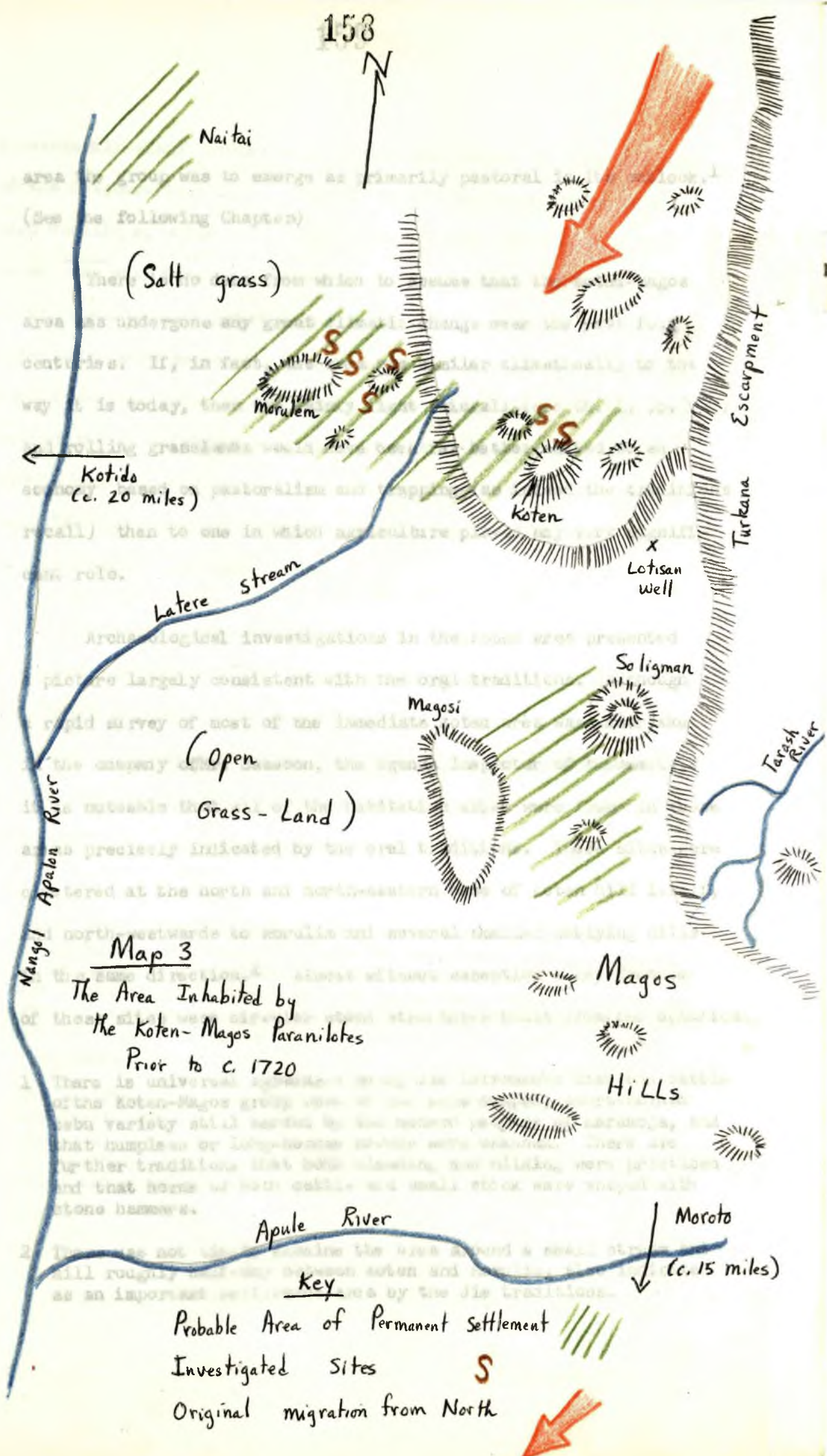


The Upe of these traditions were most probably a rear guard of the former Kalenjin-speaking population<sup>1</sup> which was responsible for place-names such as "Toror", "Sidok" (or "Kicok"), and indeed "Koten" itself, and, as suggested above, may have been the group responsible for introducing circumcision to the Ngikuliak. If this group can be linked with the group which Dr. Ehret has recently termed "Kenya-Kadam peoples", then from his linguistically-based hypothesis they would appear to have been overrun by a Central Paraniotic (in Ehret's terminology, "Karimojong-Teso") expansion by about the middle of this millennium.<sup>2</sup> A date of approximately 1500 for the arrival of the Koten-Magos group from the north does not seem unreasonable, and there is nothing in oral tradition which would in any way dispute such a date. Indeed, most traditions seem to indicate that a fairly lengthy time was spent in the Koten-Magos area before the eventual dispersal of the group in the early eighteenth century. During this time there appears to have been little or no advance in agriculture, while trapping and hunting continued to be important activities. As time passed, however, animal husbandry appears to have assumed greater and greater importance, so that by the end of its concentration in the Koten-Magos

1 In his recent book (Southern Nilotic History, Northwestern University Press, 1971), Dr. C. Ehret has concluded that roughly this same area was inhabited by a people he terms the "Kenya-Kadam". According to his hypothesis, this group did not speak a Kalenjin dialect, but rather a dialect of the considerably earlier "Proto-Southern Nilotic", from which the "Pre-Kalenjin" dialect was to evolve. If the "Upe" of the Jie tradition can be equated with Ehret's "Kenya-Kadam" (and indeed if such a linguistic group can be proven to have existed at all), then it would be strictly incorrect to regard those "Upe" as "Kalenjin-speakers". Until Dr. Ehret's book has received wider attention, however, it is more expedient in any case to regard them as a Kalenjin-speaking group.

2 Ibid., pp. 69-70.





area the group was to emerge as primarily pastoral  
(See the following Chapter)  
There is evidence which indicates that the  
area has undergone any great change over the  
centuries. If, in fact, the area is still  
way it is today, the area is still  
rolling grasslands which are still  
suitable for pastoralism and agriculture  
recall) than to one in which agriculture  
role.

Archaeological investigations in the area were presented  
pictures largely consistent with the oral traditions  
rapid survey of most of the immediate area  
the company of the season, the area is still  
the outside the area is still  
are precisely indicated by the oral traditions  
entered at the north and north-eastern  
north-westwards to Moroto and several smaller  
the area is still  
of these sites was still  
1 There is universal agreement among the  
of the Koton-Magos group was  
a variety still based on the  
that humpies or long-houses were  
further traditions that  
and that some of their cattle  
stone hampies.

2 The area not only  
will roughly  
as an important  
Key  
Probable Area of Permanent Settlement  
Investigated Sites  
Original migration from North



area the group was to emerge as primarily pastoral in its outlook.<sup>1</sup> (See the following Chapter).

There is no data from which to assume that the Koton-Magos area has undergone any great climatic change over the past four centuries. If, in fact, the area was similar climatically to the way it is today, then its fairly light rainfall (see Ch. 1, pp. 30-1) and rolling grasslands would have been far better suited to an economy based on pastoralism and trapping (as indeed the traditions recall) than to one in which agriculture played any very significant role.

Archaeological investigations in the Koton area presented a picture largely consistent with the oral traditions. Although a rapid survey of most of the immediate Koton area was undertaken in the company of Mr. Sassoon, the Uganda Inspector of Monuments, it is notable that all of the habitation sites were found in those areas precisely indicated by the oral traditions. These sites were clustered at the north and north-eastern base of Koton Hill itself, and north-westwards to Morulim and several smaller outlying hills in the same direction.<sup>2</sup> Almost without exception a key feature of these sites were circular stone structures built from the spherical,

1 There is universal agreement among Jie informants that the cattle of the Koton-Magos group were of the same humped, short-horned zebu variety still herded by the modern peoples of Karamoja, and that humpless or long-horned breeds were unknown. There are further traditions that both bleeding and milking were practiced and that horns of both cattle and small stock were shaped with stone hammers.

2 There was not time to examine the area around a small stream and hill roughly half-way between Koton and Morulim, also indicated as an important settlement area by the Jie traditions.

conveniently-sized stones which litter the slopes of Koten and some of the neighbouring hills. Some of these structures appear to have been dwellings, while a few others (some barely three feet in diameter) may well have been granaries. Some sites contained a few round, shallow-basin grinding stones,<sup>1</sup> which, taken with the structures which were supposedly granaries, reinforce the traditions that the Koten-Magos group was engaged in some cereal agriculture. Rather more of the stone structures (some 40 feet or more in diameter), however, appear to have been stock enclosures, and indeed Jie traditions explicitly state that the Koten-Magos group constructed stone kraals for their cattle and small stock.

Unlike most archaeological sites in other parts of Karamoja, no surface pot-sherds of any kind were discovered at the Koten sites.<sup>2</sup> Also, there was absolutely no evidence of any iron-ware, or iron slag, and the whole picture given was one of a relatively simple material culture, again generally in line with the impression given by the traditions.

- 1 It is very important to note that the Koten grinding stones were found in far less profusion than the deep-basin grinding stones found at the sites further west (described below). Furthermore, the Koten grinding stones were of an entirely different shape and were of so much smaller a size than the massive deep-basin variety in the west as to appear almost miniature in comparison. See Appendix 5.
- 2 One isolated find of a few sherds of "deep-grooved" pottery in association with microlithic tools was made rather higher on the slopes of Koten itself than any of the sites with stone structures. In Sassoon's opinion, this site seemed entirely separate from the other Koten and Morulim sites.



Although Jie traditions indicate that the Koten-Morulim sites, relying on nearby Lotisan well for their water supply, were the most important settlements of the Koten-Magos group, mention is also made of other settlements both in the Magos Hills themselves to the south, and at Naitai to the north-west, neither of which was investigated. It would seem likely that the group, its economy based so much on trapping and pastoralism, was not entirely tied to any one place, but ranged over a fairly wide area, of which the Koten-Morulim sites were but a focal point. Indeed, some traditions indicate that the group at times moved as far east as the headwaters of the Tarash River in search of seasonal grazing.<sup>1</sup>

Some Jie traditions claim that the hills were used as observation posts from which to scout out fresh grazing lands:

All those people at Koten - the Jie, Karimojong, Dodos - used to climb the hills to look out in various directions to see which areas looked the best. That is how Koten got its name: from kitek (to gaze for a long time) or Kiteo (to look over there). The (people who were to become) Jie looked out to the west to this very area in which we now live, and they saw it was good.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 The probable extent of the area dominated by the Koten-Magos group prior to 1700 is shown in accompanying Map 3.
- 2 Looru (Sampson), J-120. This is a good example of how many Central Paranihotic traditions attempt to explain the derivation of group or place names by drawing a false inference from a kernel of historical fact. That the Koten-Magos group did climb the hills to scout out likely grazing lands seems very probable, as the view from many of these hills is indeed panoramic and allows an observer to have at least a general idea of the surrounding country for 30 or more miles in any direction. The name "Koten", however, seems certainly to have been of Kalenjin origin and to have pre-dated the arrival of the Koten-Magos group of Central Paranihotes. Nevertheless, the Jie and the other Central Paranihotes seem to derive great enjoyment from traditions which purport to explain how names were derived. Such traditions are often of the "pleasing story" type mentioned in the preceding chapter (pp. ), and seem to have a very close parallel in the folk-tales of some parts of rural New England which undertake to explain the derivation of American Indian place names.



frontiers of what is now Karamoja some 30 to 100 years before the  
 It was from this westerly direction that there appeared, sometime  
 during the early part of the eighteenth century, a band of strangers  
 called by the Koton-Magos peoples, Ngikatapa ("Bread-people", a nickname which is still used by Central Paraniotic-speakers for their  
 mainly Lwo-speaking, primarily agricultural, western neighbours). The  
 arrival of these Ngikatapa strangers at Koton was to prove of great  
 significance to the emerging Jie community, as the next chapter will  
 demonstrate.

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The identity of these Ngikatapa who appeared in the Koton area  
 from the west brings us to examine another major group which was to  
 provide important elements to the Jie and the other emerging Central  
 Paraniotic tribes. To do so, we must shift our attention away from  
 the Koton-Magos group to look at areas further west, from central  
 Karamoja to the frontiers of what is now Acholi District, and from there  
 southwards to Teso District, and even to the area beyond Mt. Elgon.

As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, the  
 traditions of those clans directly descended from the Koton-Magos group  
 seem unanimous in their agreement that their ancestors did not begin  
 to expand outwards from their concentration at Koton and the Magos Hills  
 until a date early in the eighteenth century (ie., the time of the  
Ngipalajam asapanu, see fig.3, above). Even then, such expansions did  
 not carry them very far from their Koton-Magos homeland, as we shall see.  
 Nevertheless, the existence of Paraniotic-speaking peoples who were  
 established at (and indeed pushing out from) the southern and western

4 Personal communication with Webster, and his unpublished seminar papers: "State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago", "State formation and the Development of Political Institutions in eastern Acholi", "A Tentative Chronology for the Lwo", "The peopling of Agago", and "Lira Palwo: An expanding Acholi State", all presented at Makerere University in 1970 and 1971, plus his unpublished "Acholi historical texts", compiled at Makerere in 1971.



frontiers of what is now Karamoja some 50 to 100 years before the Koten-Magos group made its first tentative movements out from its place of concentration is attested by the oral traditions of peoples living to the south and west of Karamoja.

Within the boundaries of Karamoja itself were other Paraniilotic-speaking Dr. Were, for instance, has estimated that by a date probably in the last half of the seventeenth century the Central Paraniilotic-speaking Iteso had penetrated as far south as the Kumi area, south-east of present-day Soroti in Teso District, during their migration southward to their present homeland in south-western Kenya.<sup>1</sup> From his own research among the closely related Iteso of Uganda, Professor J.B. Webster suggests that they had begun the occupation of eastern portions of their present country by the early sixteenth century;<sup>2</sup> while Mr. Odada, working amongst the Kumam, western neighbours of the Iteso, feels that Paraniilotic-speaking elements of the proto-Kumam had begun to push westwards towards their present homeland by the latter half of the same century.<sup>3</sup> Further north, along the borderland of what is now Karamoja and Acholi Districts, Lwo-speaking clans arriving from the north and west were beginning to establish their small kingdoms during the latter half of the seventeenth century, and again, according to Webster's researches in that area, were encountering and assimilating groups of pre-existing Paraniilotes.<sup>4</sup>

1 Were, G., A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya, c.1500-1930 p.57.

2 Personal communication with Professor J. B. Webster, and also his unpublished seminar papers: "Pioneers in Teso", and "The Iteso During the Asonya", both presented at Makerere University in 1969.

3 Odada, M., "The Fysion of the Lwo and Ateker - the Kumam", unpublished seminar paper presented at Makerere University, 1971, p.3.

4 Personal communication with Webster, and his unpublished seminar papers: "State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago", "State Formation and the Development of Political Institutions in Eastern Acholi", "A Tentative Chronology for the Lwo", "The Peopling of Agago", and "Lira Palwo: An Expanding Acholi State", all presented at Makerere University in 1970 and 1971, plus his unpublished "Acholi Historical Texts", compiled at Makerere in 1971.

Turning once again to Ehret's linguistic evidence, many of his "Kenya-Kadam" group seem to have been swallowed up by a "Karamojong-Teso" advance into areas well south of the Mago Hills by about 1500.<sup>1</sup>

Within the boundaries of Karamoja itself were other Paraniotic-speaking groups which lived well outside the Koton-Magos concentration.

A good example of such a group were the people called Ngariama who inhabited the south-central parts of the area now inhabited by the Karimojong. A descendent of the group recalled:

The original home of the Ngariama was at Lokales in Pian. The Ngariama were a tribe on their own. They were friendly with the Kumama (Iteso) and were their neighbours. The Ngariama and the Kumama spoke the same language as the Karimojong, but they had never been together with the Karimojong, even though they all spoke the same language. When the Ngariama lived at Lokales, the Karimojong lived beyond the Apule River in the north (e.g. in the direction of the Mago Hills).<sup>2</sup>

While these outlying Paraniotic-speaking peoples provided the basic elements of the Itesyo, Iteso, Kumam and Langi, it will furthermore be argued throughout this thesis that they also provided important segments of all the emerging Central Paraniotic-speaking groups of Karamoja, north-western Kenya, and the south-eastern Sudan. Indeed, amongst the Jie, they were to form the core of the Rengen moiety, as well as providing a number of important clans to the other moiety, Lokorwakol. It is therefore important to achieve some understanding of them and to advance some hypotheses as to their probable origin.

It should first be noted that these outlying Paraniotes seemed

<sup>1</sup> Ehret, loc.cit., and also see his map, p.65.

<sup>2</sup> Longorio, BK-9.



to have had certain economic and cultural features in common which clearly differentiated them from the Kote-Magos concentration. While the Kote-Magos group, during its concentration in the drier eastern grasslands, steadily evolved a pastoral complex, these outlying groups of Paraniotes appear to have retained an economy based largely on hunting and gathering, or else, in many cases, to have become increasingly more agricultural. The oral traditions of those groups pushing out from the southern and south-eastern frontiers of Karamoja, as well as those of groups within Karamoja itself, clearly reflect this. Of the Itesyo, were has recorded that eleusine and millet grain were traditionally their chief food, with meat and milk of only secondary importance, while both Lawrance and Webster have collected Iteso traditions that indicate they were agriculturalists before beginning to own cattle, and Webster and Kagolo further indicate that their moves outwards from Karamoja were dictated by a need for better (agricultural) land and/or new hunting grounds.<sup>1</sup> A similar non-pastoral economy is pictured by the traditions of virtually all of the outlying Paraniotic groups within Karamoja. Of most direct relevance to the emergency Jie community was a group called "Loser" (the people called "Ngiseera") which once occupied the Kotido area of what was to become Najie. Traditions of the descendants of these Ngiseera recall that:

Originally the Loser didn't know about cattle. People lived by cultivating sorghum and by trapping wild animals. There were no cattle here (in Najie) at all.<sup>2</sup>

1 Were, G., Western Kenya Historical Texts, Nairobi, 1967, p.24; Lawrance, J.C.D. The Iteso, London, 1957, p.7; personal communication with Professor Webster, plus his seminar paper "Pioneers of Teso", p.4; Kagolo, B.M., "Tribal Names and Customs in Teso District" U.J., 19, 1955, p.42.

2 Lonyala, J-81.



Another of these outlying Paraniotic groups which was to play an important role in the development of the Jie community was a group called "Poet" or "Poot" which inhabited the western part of the borderland between what is now Najie and the country of the Dodos. (See Map 4). While traditions of the descendants of this group indicate that cattle were not entirely unknown, again they reveal that no great economic reliance was placed on them:

At first, none of the Ngikaato (Poot) clans had any cattle, except the Norikituk, who had very few - one or two, like that. The people lived mainly by trapping wild animals.<sup>1</sup>

The existence of such traditions in Karamoja where pastoralism has become so important an economic, sociological and psychological factor is truly remarkable, and their validity, in light of this, would seem certain. Furthermore (as will be mentioned again below), archaeological sites associated with some of these outlying Paraniotic groups exhibit features which strongly support a picture of a people with a non-pastoral economy.

In addition to sharing a non-pastoral economic tradition, all available data suggest that these outlying Paraniotic groups shared a common range of ngitalia (clan observances, see p. 66 ff. Chapter II above) which again distinguished them from the Kote-Magos group. The evidence is clearest in Najie where my research was concentrated. Here there is a remarkable correspondence in the ranges of ngitalia of those clans which were descended from various of these outlying

1 Adupa (Sampson), D-12. Other outlying Paraniotic elements resident in Karamoja ultimately formed the core of the Nyakwai community which now lives in a chain of hills south-west of Najie. (See Map 4). Again, traditions collected from descendants of these elements (interview NY-1) reveal that their ancestors were originally ignorant of cattle and relied mainly on trapping. Similar traditions have also been collected by Mr. R. Herring, who has recently begun work amongst the Nyakwai and Labwor, and one is recorded in his unpublished seminar paper "The Origin and Development of the Nyakwai", presented at Makerere University, Dec.'71 (p.8)



FIGURE 4

A comparison of the ranges of ngitalia of Jie clans representative of the Koton-Magos and Agricultural Paraniotic-speaking groups.

I KOTON-MAGOS CLANS

<u>Clan</u>	<u>Skins</u>	<u>Aprons</u>	<u>Food Prohibitions</u>	<u>Marriage Ceremony</u>	<u>Other</u>
Lodera	calf	ekalungur	none	Lokidori	
Lodoca	calf	?	bushbuck	Lokidori	
Lomejan	calf	ngadalai	none	Lokidori	
Lopao	any	ngadalai	none	Lokidori	
Ngikakere	calf or goat	ngadalai	none	Lokidori	
Toroi	calf, then goat	? probably ngadalai	none (except one sub-division, bushbuck)	Lomalol (ox)	

II AGRICULTURAL PARANILOTIC CLANS

<u>Clan</u>	<u>Skins</u>	<u>Aprons</u>	<u>Food Prohibitions</u>	<u>Marriage Ceremony</u>	<u>Other</u>
Jimos	Goat, eland trimmed	ekalungur	bushbuck	lomamol/lobunat	Gazelle song
Loser	Gazelle	ekalungur	bushbuck	lomamol/lobunat	Gazelle song. Prohibition about cutting children's hair. Edeke a god.
Poet	Gazelle cloaks	nyakaiya or ngidani	bushbuck & squirrel	lobunat	Prohibition against cutting children's hair. Cannot touch their hair. Their cattle cannot be taken by force. Gazelle song.
Teso	Gazelle cloaks	ekalungur	bushbuck	lokidori	Prohibition against cutting children's hair. Edeke a god.
Karewok	calf	ekalungur	none	lobunat	A disemboweling ritual.
Loposa	Gazelle	?(probably ekalungur)	bushbuck	lomamol/lobunat	A disemboweling ritual

- 1 The nyakaiya or ngidani apron worn by brides of many Poet sub-divisions is unique to them and consists of decorated leather thongs.

Paranilotic groups. Although individual variations quite naturally occur,<sup>1</sup> most of these clans subscribe to a range of ngitalia which include the wearing of gazelle skins (or occasionally other wild animal skins, sometimes in conjunction with goat skins) as some article of clothing by the women of the clan, an apron of small hollow sticks strung together (ekalungur) for newly married women, an avoidance of eating bushbuck (akoloba) and/or in some instances squirrel (eceleku), a finalization of marriage ceremony (lomalol or lobunat) in which an animal (usually a he-goat) is killed by ritual suffocation or, in a few instances, by disembowelling and in many cases a prohibition against cutting or touching human hair on given circumstances, eating the intestines of animals, a song about gazelles or gazelle-skins, and a mystical prohibition against outsiders attempting to take their livestock by force. Again while there is no absolute correspondence and individual variations occur, the clans which trace their descent from the Koton-Magos concentration in general dress their women in calf-skins, often have their brides wear aprons decorated with iron beads (ngadalai), have no food prohibitions, and perform a finalisation of marriage ceremony (generally called Lokidori by the Jie) in which an ox is killed by spearing. The ngitalia of Jie clans representative of both groups are recorded in the accompanying Figure 4.

While they are not of course the central concern of this thesis, it is important for corroborative purposes to note that amongst other Central Paranilotic-speaking peoples, such as the Turkana, Karimojong

1 Jie informants were quite clear in their assertion that the range of ngitalia can and does change in exceptional circumstances, and it can be suggested that this correspondence in ngitalia was, if anything, much closer in the past than it is now.





**Plate VI**  
 The ekalungur  
 bridal apron  
 of hollow  
 sticks generally  
 worn by  
 clans of  
 Agricultural  
 Paraniotic  
 origin.



**Plate VII**  
 The nyakaiya  
 bridal apron  
 particular to  
 the Poet clan.



and Dodos, there are also clans descended from various of these outlying Paraniotic groups. While evidence is not so abundant for these peoples, that data which have been collected suggest that their clans descended from outlying Paraniotic groups subscribe to ranges of ngitalia which correspond largely to those of clans found amongst the Jie. Thus, for example, the Poot clan of the Dodos, which clearly is descended from an outlying Paraniotic group, subscribes to a range of ngitalia which includes at least the wearing of the apron of sticks by its brides, a prohibition against eating squirrel (in Adodos, ekunyuk), and a prohibition against shaving their children's hair.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the Lokatap clan of the Karimojong, also descended from an outlying Paraniotic group, have a range of ngitalia which includes the wearing of gazelle-skin cloaks by its women, the apron of sticks (in Akirimojong, ethiye) and a prohibition against eating bushbuck (aderit in Akarimojong).<sup>2</sup>

1 Lokidap, D-10, and Atebe, D-11.

2 Loram (Ecai) and Arengimoi (Balo), TK-1; Ocom, Lotipu and Lomonyang, MTK-3; and Loru (Enosi), BK-1. The ngitalia of the entire Ngicuro division of the Turkana which appears to have been originally one of these outlying groups will be discussed below.

There are even less data concerning the ngitalia of those peoples, such as the Iteso and Langi, descended mainly from various of these outlying Paraniotic-speaking groups. Moreover, as these groups live outside Karamoja, they are well outside the scope of this thesis. Still, from what data have been collected, it can be noted that a close parallel between the ranges of ngitalia of the clans of these peoples and relevant clans of the Jie is again suggested. Some information of the ngitalia of Iteso clans can be found in Lawrance (1957) op.cit., especially pp.60-3, and in Williams, F.L., "Teso Clans", U.J., 4, 1936. Additional information was kindly provided by J. B. Webster in personal communication. Information on Lango clan ngitalia can be found in Driberg, op.cit., pp.189-204.

It is important to note that the Iteso belief in a god called Ideke (meaning simply "disease" in Ajie) is paralleled by only two Jie clans, Tesiyo and Loser, both clearly descended from outlying Paraniotic elements. All other Jie clans believe in a god called Akuj.

2 Tarratino, A. "Lango Clans" U.J., 13.1, 1949, p.109 and "Notes on the Lango", U.J., 13.2, 1949, pp.145-6.



All available data, therefore, strongly suggest the existence of a number of Paraniotic-speaking groups who were primarily non-pastoral in economy and who subscribed generally to a very similar range of Ngitalia, inhabiting much of central, southern and western Karamoja, and spilling out into neighbouring areas, long before the group of Paraniotic-speakers concentrated in the Koton-Magos area began their own expansion. As to the origin of these outlying, or "Agricultural Paraniotes" (as they will be referred to henceforth in this thesis),<sup>1</sup> there can be no doubt that there was a close linguistic relationship between them and the group concentrated in the Koton-Magos area. The real problem is to identify the area in which the two groups may have existed as a single people. As oral traditions of Central Paraniotic clans which were part of the Koton-Magos concentration collected by Gulliver and others clearly indicated that Koton and Magos Hills were important points of concentration and dispersal, it is understandable that many writers, including Lawrance, Webster, and Odada, have assumed that it was in that area that the two linguistically related groups existed as one people.

Many such writers were probably influenced by the ideas of Fr. A. Tarantino who, in two journal articles, noted that the four original clans of the Lango: Atek, Arek, Okarawok and Otengoro also appeared universally among the "Kuman, Abwor, Teso, Karamojong and Jie".<sup>2</sup> This Tarantino saw as an indication of the common origin

1 It has been a great problem to find a satisfactory name to describe these various groups of non-Koton-Magos Paraniotes, as there was clearly no one name by which they all called themselves. In earlier writings, I used the blanket name "Ngiseera" in an attempt to use some terminology of the groups themselves, but as the name in fact applied to only one such group (and perhaps elements of certain others), I now feel that my use of this name was both incorrect and possibly misleading. I consequently find myself forced to adopt a term which at least describes their more or less common economic outlook which was to clearly distinguish them from the more pastorally oriented Koton-Magos group.

2 Tarantino, A. "Lango Clans" U.J., 13,1,1949,p.109 and "Notes on the Lango", U.J. 13,2, 1949, pp.145-6.



of these peoples, and his statements, largely unquestioned, were accepted by most subsequent observers of the Central Paraniotes.

In fact Tarantino was mistaken, for although the four clans do appear among those groups made up largely of Agricultural Paraniotic elements (based largely on cultural similarities, including Tarantino's four "universal" clans) that the Iteso were once part of the Koton-Magos concentration (termed "the Karimojong Cluster") now resident outside Karamoja (eg. Kuumam, Iteso, Lango), they certainly do not appear universally among those other Paraniotic groups, mainly before breaking away from (1960) Jie elements of that group. Similarly the writings of Walsh and Wright on the Karamojong and Driberg on the Lango have been seen to suggest a close link between these Agricultural Paraniotic peoples and the Koton-Magos group. Only one observer, P. H. Gulliver, has seriously questioned that the Iteso (and Karimojong, by extension, any other Agricultural Paraniotic group) were once part of the Koton-Magos concentration, or indeed (the linguistic evidence apart) whether any such link existed. Gulliver, while admitting that "cultural similarities do exist, points out that there are also cultural differences, notably in their pastoral class systems." It would seem clear, therefore, that Tarantino only succeeded in showing a probable link between various of the outlying Agricultural Paraniotic groups, and not a link between them and the Koton-Magos group, as he implies.

- 1 The adequate presentation of this evidence would entail a long discourse, much of which would not be strictly relevant to this thesis. It is hoped that a journal article will eventually be published in which this matter will be specifically examined in depth. For the present, it is sufficient to note that only one "universal" clan ("Karewok" or "Kathiwok") is found amongst the Jie and Toposa, while amongst the Dodos and Karimojong three of the clans (Katek, Kathengor or Tengor, and Karewok) appear. Only amongst the Turkana do all four clans appear, and here, very significantly, all are found only within the Ngicuro division which, as will be argued below, was originally made up of Agricultural Paraniotic elements. Turkana clan names are listed by Gulliver, P.H., A Preliminary Survey of the Turkana, a report compiled for the Government of Kenya, 1950, p.69; Karimojong clan names appear in Dyson-Hudson, op.cit., pp.87-9; and Toposa clan names in Nalder, op.cit., p.68. Jie and Dodos clan names were collected during my own researches, and Turkana and Karimojong clan names were checked. For the Jie clans, see Fig.1 above.

2 Walsh, Fr. C.I., "Notes on the Karamojong", ibid., II, 1947; Wright A.C.A., "Notes on the Karamojong Social Organization", ibid., 1947; Driberg, op.cit.

3 Gulliver, P.H. "The Iteso and the Karimojong Cluster", ibid., 1956, p.214.



Nevertheless, Tarantino's conclusions undoubtedly did much to shape the ideas of subsequent writers, such as J.C.D. Lawrance. In his reconstruction of early Iteso history, Lawrance advances the hypothesis (based largely on cultural similarities, including Tarantino's four "universal" clans) that the Iteso were once part of the Koton-Magos concentration (termed "the Karamojong Cluster"), before breaking away from (proto) Jie elements of that group.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the writings of Walshe and Wrighton on the Kumam and Driberg on the Langi<sup>2</sup> have been seen to suggest a close link between these Agricultural Paraniotic peoples and the Koton-Magos group. Only one observer, P. H. Gulliver, has seriously questioned that the Iteso (and therefore, by extension, any other Agricultural Paraniotic group) were once part of the Koton-Magos concentration, or indeed (the linguistic evidence apart) whether any sort of link between them can be shown to have existed. Gulliver, while admitting that certain cultural similarities do exist, points out that there are also rather basic cultural differences (notably in their respective class systems based on time), as well as some important linguistic differences. As to the historical evidence for assuming any link between the Iteso (or any other Agricultural Paraniotic group) and the Koton-Magos group, Gulliver writes: "Neither Lawrance nor any other writer known to me has given any acceptable legend which definitely relates the origin of the Teso with the origin of any member of the Karamojong cluster."<sup>3</sup>

1 Lawrance (1955), op.cit., pp.12-14, also his "The Karamojong Cluster-A Note", Africa, XLIII, 1953.

2 Walshe, Fr. C.I., "Notes on the Kumam", U.J., 11, 1947; Wright A.C.A., "Notes on the Iteso Social Organization", U.J. 9, 1942; Driberg, op.cit.

3 Gulliver, P.H. "The Teso and the Karamojong Cluster", U.J., 20, 1956, p.214.

In fact, a close examination of the various Agricultural Paranilotic oral traditions which had been collected at the time of Gulliver's writing merely indicate that those groups passed through some part of Karamoja during a migration from the north, or that they were "neighbours" of the Koten-Magos group, or indeed that Agricultural Paranilotic and Koten-Magos elements existed as quite separate groups in Karamoja.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise, many of the oral traditions collected during my own research either lack any indication of links between the various Agricultural Paranilotic groups and the Koten-Magos concentration, or else repudiate such a link altogether. From the Agricultural Paranilotic point of view, the Ngariama tradition recorded on p. 164 above, is a clear example of this. In the same way, a number of Labwor clans including Jo-Kajomo, Jo-Kapelikware, Jo-Atiko (cf., Katek), and Jo-Kakuku, all of which were originally descended from Agricultural Paranilotes, have traditions that they once occupied parts of Karamoja now occupied by the Karimojong, but that the Karimojong and the other peoples descended largely from the Koten-Magos group "were only our neighbours, and we did not even intermix with them."<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Lawrance (1955) *loc.cit.*; Driberg, *op.cit.*, p. 27; Tarantino, "Notes on the Lango", *op.cit.*, pp. 147-8. While it is admittedly rather difficult to understand Lawrance's sources of information, his statement that the Iteso may have come from the Koten area where they split from the Jie appears to have been only his hypothesis, unsupported by Iteso oral evidence.
- 2 Odiyo (Saul), Ogira (Jebedayo) and Oceng, L-4; and Oceng and Ocan (Maracelo) (and others), L-5.

(Odiyo, pp. 262-3) and Lawrance (1955, *op.cit.*, p. 27) in which the Iteso are pictured as part of the (proto) Karimojong group which moved further north and west, leaving for themselves, the



For their part, elements descended from the Koton-Magos group often relate traditions which also repudiate any link between themselves and various Agricultural Paranilotic groups. For example, when (proto) Jie elements of the Koton-Magos concentration moved westwards from Koton to Najie in the early eighteenth century (see the following chapter), they encountered pre-existing Agricultural Paranilotic communities including those called "Loser" and "Loposa", whom they regarded as "different people", of unknown origin. In the same way, (proto) Karimojong elements of the Koton-Magos group which expanded southwards into the present Karimojong area almost a century later (see Chapter VI below) encountered other Agricultural Paranilotic groups including those called "Ngariama" (already mentioned above), "Miro" (descended from the same basic stock as the Loser of Najie), and important elements of both the Nyakwai (a people who now live in a chain of hills between Najie and the Karimojong area) and the Iteso (called "Kumama" by the Karimojong). In all cases, the expanding Koton-Magos peoples considered these pre-existing groups as "strangers" or "different people" who had certainly not been together with them in the Koton-Magos area. Furthermore, Koton-Magos traditions very frequently emphasise the economic, cultural and even linguistic differences between themselves and the various Agricultural Paranilotic groups they encountered.<sup>1</sup>

1 As the encounters between Koton-Magos elements and many of these various Agricultural Paranilotic groups are described in following chapters, they are only mentioned here. Again, it is hoped that a journal article will eventually allow me to examine traditions describing these encounters in more detail.

The Karimojong traditions concerning the Iteso elements seem to contradict other traditions, such as that recorded by Dyson-Hudson (*op.cit.*, pp.262-3) and Lawrance (1955, *op.cit.*, p.12) in which the Iteso are pictured as part of the (proto) Karimojong group which moved further south and west, earning for themselves, the



Nevertheless, a few oral traditions do suggest contacts between the Koton-Magos concentration and at least some of the Agricultural Paranilotic groups in the area of the Koton-Magos Hills. In most instances, these traditions are rather vague, and indicate that many such contacts were early ones, well before the eighteenth century dispersal of the Koton-Magos group, and, moreover, many such traditions are strongly aetiological. There is, for example, a Jie tradition concerning the Loser, the Agricultural Paranilotic group which once inhabited part of Najie, who ultimately provided Lango and probably Eastern Acoli, Labwor and Iteso elements:

Footnote 1 continued from previous page:

sobriquet Ngiteso ("The People of - or looking for - graves", from ates, "grave"), while those who remained behind became known as Naikarimojong ("The people dying of old age", from akikar, "to die of hunger", and amojong "old"). Yet as Dyson-Hudson himself has pointed out, this tradition "exhibits some strange features", notably that the Karimojong do not refer to the Iteso by that name at all, but rather invariably call them by the name "Kumama" (Dyson-Hudson, Ibid). In my own research, this tradition was related by only five Karimojong informants (those of BK-1, 2 and 6), all but one of whom, significantly, came from clans (Lokatap and Katek) which were most probably descended from Agricultural Paranilotic groups assimilated by expansions of Koton-Magos peoples. As already noted several times, Central Paranilotic traditions based on the supposed derivation of names are very often suspect, and are generally of the vague "pleasing tale" sort (see the preceding chapter) which are frequently of little real historical value. Therefore, while this tradition may in fact indicate some link between an Agricultural Paranilotic group and elements of the Koton-Magos concentration, it would seem much more likely to have been originally an Agricultural Paranilotic tradition which simply states that while most of their people moved off to the west, others remained in their previous Karamoja homelands, where (as the bulk of Karimojong traditions indicate) they were either assimilated by or fled before, the later advance of elements of the Koton-Magos group. In that case, the sections of the tradition referring to "Karimojong" might well mean those Agricultural Paranilotes who remained behind in Karamoja and subsequently became Karimojong when assimilated by the expanding Koton-Magos elements.



Long, long ago the Jie, Karimojong and the others who originally lived at Koton lived together with the Loser and other "Ngikatapa" (a Jie nick name for their western neighbours).... They were all one people then. Then one day the people had to make a choice, and the Jie, Karimojong and the other people of Koton chose cow-dung, while the Ngikatapa chose the residue of beer. So the Ngikatapa took sorghum with them and went off to the west to grow food, while the Koton people remained behind and raised cattle.<sup>1</sup>

While traditions such as this one might possibly reflect some recollection of an early separation between some Agricultural Paraniotes and the Koton-Magos group in the Koton area, it is much more likely that they are basically ex post facto statements on the evolution of the different economies of the two groups. Furthermore, it would seem probable that the tradition quoted above incorporates elements of other traditions concerning a group of "Ngikatapa" who appeared in the Koton area from the west during the early years of the eighteenth century (see p. 222, Chapter Four, below).<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Apalodokoro, Lomongin (Julio) and Inua (Lodweny), J-75 and J-128. Very similar (and also strongly aetiological) traditions can be found amongst many other East African peoples, including the Langi (Tarantino (1946), op.cit. p.16), the Maasai (Hollis, A.C. The Maasai, Oxford, 1905, pp.272-3), and the Lacustrine Bantu (see for example, Roscoe, J., The Bakitara or Banyoro, Cambridge, 1923, for the story of Kamrasi).
- 2 Additional support for a picture of Agricultural Paraniotes pushing out from the Koton-Magos concentration may be discernible from Professor Webster's impressive argument that among the Iteso the name "Iseera" (eg., the people of the group "Loser") appears to mean simply "those who have gone on ahead" or "pioneer". It is conceivable that the Jie use of the same name for the Agricultural Paraniotic group which once inhabited central Najie, as well as for the Langi as a whole, may have been originally for the same reason, as Webster has suggested. However, this is flatly denied by Jie informants who do not see the term as meaning "pioneer" in any sense. See Webster, "The Iteso During the Asonya", op.cit. p.5. JRAL, LVII, 1957.

Gulliver, 1950, pp.211-213; McKean, J.D., report in Kenya Land Commission - Evidence and proposals, vol. II, London, 1954 p.1757.



However, a clearer indication of a link between an originally Agricultural Paraniotic group and the Koten-Magos concentration seems to be provided by Turkana oral traditions. From as early as the 1920's, published accounts have recorded that the Turkana split off from the Jie in Karamoja and moved eastwards to occupy their present area, and since that time, Gulliver, and McKean before him, have recorded a Turkana tradition which seems to justify this picture of their Jie origin.<sup>1</sup> Several variations of this widely-known tradition were collected in western and south-western Turkana from informants of both major Turkana divisions during my own research, the following being, in many ways, typical:

Long ago, an old woman called Nayece came from the west from Najie gathering wild fruits. She came to the hill now called Moru Anayece near the Tarash River, where she settled. Then a bull (engiro) got lost in Najie and also came east, following the Tarash River, until he came to the place where Nayece was living. During the day the bull would go out to graze, and during the night he would sleep at Nayece's compound. Then eight young men, the children of Nayece, came from the west searching for her and for the bull which was lost. They tracked the bull and they found him together with Nayece, who was drying wild fruits she had collected. They remained there for some time and saw that there were many wild fruits and good grass. Then they returned to Najie and told the people there about the good area they had found. And so a large group of young men and girls took cattle and went to the east as though they were going to ngauyoi (dry season cattle camps). They grazed their herds at Moru Anayece, and they decided to settle there. So at first the Turkana were people of the ngauyoi, and their real home had been Najie.<sup>2</sup>

1 See among others: Hulley, Lt.D.M., "Notes on the Turkana", EA-4325, Part I, 1920; Barton, J., "Notes on the Turkana Tribe" (Part I), JAS, 1921; and Emley, E.D. "The Turkana of Kolosia District", JRAI, LVII, 1927.

Gulliver, 1950, op.cit. p.139; McKean, J.D., report in Kenya Land Commission - Evidence and Memoranda, vol. II, London, 1934 p.1757.

2 Eremon (and others) T-3.



The Jie, while acknowledging a relationship with the Turkana, have two seemingly contradictory traditions as to how the Turkana evolved. Many Jie informants claimed that they "never came west of Koten",<sup>1</sup> but moved eastwards into the Tarash Valley from the Koten-Magos area, before the concentration of peoples there dispersed. An equal number of informants, however, maintain that the Turkana in fact moved west into Najie with Jie elements of the Koten-Magos group, only to retrace their steps back to the east later on (see Chapter IV).

Very much in line with these Jie traditions, one observer, Nobuhiro Nagashima, in an unpublished paper written in 1968, has suggested that the Turkana were made up of two distinct groups of Paranilotic-speaking peoples: one of which broke away from the embryonic Jie in Najie, and the other a group which pre-existed the arrival of the Jie break-aways in the Tarash River Valley area. Relying on the admittedly rather meagre oral evidence which had been collected at the time of his writing, Nagashima convincingly argues that the two major divisions now present in Turkana society represent the two groups which originally formed the tribe: the Ngicuro division representing an earlier Paranilotic group and the Ngimonia division representing the later arrivals from Najie.<sup>2</sup>

From my own research in Turkana, there are indeed indications that the Turkana themselves regard the Ngicuro as the older division. It will be recalled from the previous chapter that many of the Central Paranilotic societies perform a ceremony called akiwodokin or angola

1 Kere and Meron, J-64.

2 Nagashima, op.cit.

2 Gulliver (1950), 22, 23, p. 63, further reports that A. A. Wright claimed that all of the non-Turkana clan names which appear among the Ngibela and Ngikamuk sub-divisions of the Ngicuro are also found among the western Iteso.



in which representative members of clans or other constituent divisions pass through an improvised gate in a prescribed order. As was mentioned above, it is usual for those clans or divisions which are considered the original inhabitants of an area to pass through the gate first, followed by those descended from later-arriving or assimilated peoples. It is notable, then, that Turkana informants without exception stated that Ngicuro groups invariably precede the Ngimonia when members of both divisions meet together for a joint ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

Assuming, then, that Nagashima was in all probability correct in assuming that the Ngicuro were the earlier Turkana division, it is interesting to consider the constituent clans of the Ngicuro division and their ngitalia (clan customs). To begin with, all four of Tarantino's "universal" clans (Karewok, Katek, Tengor and Rarak) appear in Turkana society exclusively among the Ngicuro division. Also included in the Ngicuro division are clans called "Iteso" and "Lokatap", whose original Agricultural Paranilotic affiliation seems equally obvious.<sup>2</sup> While it was impossible to undertake any exhaustive survey of Turkana clan ngitalia, the informants of the three Ngicuro clans amongst whom I was able to make sufficient enquiries all stated that their ngitalia included the lobunat final-

1 Nagashima, op.cit. p.14, further suggests that the very name Ngicuro (which he translates as "people of the rough plains") appears to be more prestigious than Ngimonia ("people of the forest"). Ngicuro, however, is better translated "people of the gullies", and the Turkana clearly do not regard one name more prestigious than the other. Nagashima is probably correct, however, in his idea that there is more prestige attached to the Ngicuro spearing their ritual oxen from the right side, than to the Ngimonia's spearing of theirs from the left.

2 Gulliver (1950), op.cit., p.68, further reports that A.C.A. Wright claimed that all of the same Turkana clan names which appear among the Ngibelai and Ngikamatak sub-divisions of the Ngicuro are also found among the western Iteso.



isation of marriage ceremony and the wearing of gazelle skins by their women, i.e., ngitalia common to the range associated with the various Agricultural Paraniotic groups in Uganda (see p. 68 above). This seems especially significant in that I was unable to find even a single definite instance of any of this range of ngitalia among any clan of the other Turkana major division, Ngimonia.<sup>1</sup> This major division.<sup>2</sup>

Bearing all of this in mind, one can examine the Turkana tradition of origin, recorded above, in a new light. It can be suggested that this tradition is in fact a composite of two traditions: one relating to the origin of the earlier Ngicuro division, and the other to the later-arriving Ngimonia. In the first part of the tradition, the "old woman" Nayece moves to the east in order to collect wild fruits, and it is not unreasonable to imagine that the "old woman" in fact is a symbolic representation of a whole group of people, the Ngicuro, who (like many of the Agricultural Paraniotic groups in Uganda) placed a strong reliance on gathering for their subsistence. It is only later that the "young men" come to the east to join "Nayece" and introduce intensive pastoralism into the area. The tradition of young men searching for a lost bull is closely paralleled by a Jie tradition concerning the occupation of Najie by Koton-Magos elements (see Chapter IV below), even the colour of the lost bull (engiro -

1 The three Ngicuro clans were Katek, Lobal, and Iteso; also the Lokatap clan performs a finalisation of marriage ceremony involving disemboweling. Moreover, two Turkana clans with members in both major divisions, Loponga and Swalika, have the same ngitalia, which may indicate their original Ngicuro affiliation.

2 Although he was not specifically concerned with recording clan ngitalia during his research, Gulliver (*Ibid.* p. 60) noted that the women of every Ngicuro clan are supposed to wear gazelle-skins.

"light-grey") being the same in both traditions.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the later-arriving "young men" seem clearly to have come from Jie elements of the Koten-Magos group who had already begun the occupation of Najie, as indeed some of the Jie traditions state (see p. 179 above, and chapter IV below). It is further suggested that these "young men" symbolically represent the (more pastoral) founders of the Ngimonia major division.<sup>2</sup>

There was sufficient agreement among my better Turkana informants that the "young men" settled in the Tarash River Valley during the asapanu Ngipalajam (see Fig. 3, above), the same asapanu which Jie and Karimojong informants stated were alive when the Koten-Magos group dispersed in the early eighteenth century, and this is further supported by Turkana traditions recorded by McKean which mention "Nyepalajam" as one of the generations which came from Najie to settle on the Tarash.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, no informant seemed able to name the specific asapanu that was alive when Nayece settled in the east: only that it was "long, long ago". It should be noted, moreover, that not only does "Nayece" precede the "young men" into the Tarash Valley in the Turkana tradition of origin, but that the young men go back and

1 This is especially significant in that Dyson-Hudson states that there are no less than 55 hide designations in Akarimojong, op.cit. p. 97.

2 It may be significant that a Ngimonia sub-division is called "Ngijie", but it must be noted that Jie of Uganda were unquestionably not called by that name when the "young men" went from Najie to "look for the lost bull". See the following chapter.

3 McKean, op.cit., p. 1758. The other generations mentioned by McKean are "Emisse" and "Edutan". My Turkana informants identified "Ngimis" or "Ngimik" as the fathers of Ngipalajam, but none had heard of any asapanu similar to "Edutan".



settlement of a second, more pastoral group (Ngicuro). It is clear, at  
 forth between Moru Anayece and their homes in the west a number of  
 times (at least twice and, in one version, as many as four times)  
 before finally settling in the east. Traditions of the Koton-Magos  
 group, for their part, indicate that the people of that concentration  
 were constantly on the move to find fresh pasturage and water for  
 their livestock, and that some of their transhumant movement took them  
 to dry season cattle camps on the headwaters of the Tarash, hardly  
 twenty miles east of Koton. In addition, other versions of the  
 Turkana tradition indicate that a considerable period elapsed between  
 the settlement of "Nayece" and the advent of the "young men" at Moru  
 Anayece:

Nayece stayed at Moru Anayece for some time; then some  
 young men came looking for her. They found her drying  
 her fruits .... and they returned to the west and said,  
 "Our mother is alive". They decided to return again to  
 the east, and took other people with them. They found  
 plenty of food there, and afterwards they went back  
 again to the west saying, "Indeed, we have found a good  
 place there in the east with our grandmother, Nayece."  
 And so after a time many more people - young men, with  
 girls and cattle - went again to the east as though  
 going to ngaui, but they never returned to the west  
 again, but remained in the east and became Turkana.<sup>1</sup>

It can be suggested that the key point of this tradition (and  
 other versions like it) is not so much the "relationship" between  
 Nayece and the various groups of young men, but rather that the first  
 group refer to her as "mother", and the second refer to her as "grand-  
 mother". Therefore, this tradition may be stating that at least three  
 generations elapsed between the settlement of the first group of  
 gatherers (Ngicuro) on the Upper Tarash and the final arrival and  
 Muthuluk, Loodunga and Lowasa, T-6.



settlement of a second, more pastoral group (Ngimonia). It is clear, at any rate, that a fairly long period of contact between the two groups went on before the final merger which brought about the formation of the Turkana in the upper Tarash Valley.<sup>1</sup>

While it would be possible to assume that the Ngicuro (apparently quite unlike any other Agricultural Paraniotic group), were thus merely a (non-pastoral) vanguard of the Koton-Magos group which pushed out from the concentration before the eighteenth century dispersal of other elements of the group, other traditions discussed below (p. 188) considerably modify such a picture, and, be this as it may, it would certainly be dangerous to extend such a hypothesis to include other Agricultural Paraniotic groups. In the first place, such a hypothesis would hardly explain the close correspondence between clan names and ranges of ngitalia of Agricultural Paraniotic groups as widely separated as the Ngicuro Turkana in the east and the Iteso elements in the west, and then, too, there is the considerable weight of oral evidence which either repudiates any link between the Agricultural Paraniotic groups and the people of the Koton-Magos area, or at least does not specifically recall that any such contact occurred between the two groups - at any rate, not in the Koton-Magos area. Rather, a more

- 1 It may also be significant that in the Turkana tradition, Nayece is always represented as a single woman, whereas the later arrivals are invariably pictured as a whole group of young men and girls. According to Gulliver's population data, Nagashima (op.cit., p. 15) has pointed out that the Ngimonia are at present numerically far superior to the Ngicuro (at least 3:1) and that, if anything, the ratio must have been even higher in favour of the Ngimonia in the past, the population drift being Ngimonia to Ngicuro.

As to the significance of the specific number "eight" being used in many versions of the traditions as the original number of "young men", the Turkana traditions are silent. It might be significant that the Jie Ngikorwakol moiety consider the Jie to be composed of eight parts: the seven Ngikorwakol divisions, plus the Rengen moiety.



reasonable explanation might be that the two peoples underwent a very early separation, pre-dating even the arrival of either in a route would have brought these people southwards through, or very Karamoja, so that when entry into Karamoja was made, it was done so close to, areas occupied, or once occupied, by the Ayan, Foot (or by two distinct groups of Central Paraniotic-speaking peoples, each Foot), Loos, Nyakwai, and Labwor, all of whom were either descended with its own constituent clans, range of Ngitalia, and linguistic mainly from, or at least incorporated considerable numbers of, differences.

Agricultural Paraniotic elements.

In fact, exactly such a picture seems suggested by Labwor, and as Toth points out in his thesis on the Langi, "insufficient most probably Lango, oral tradition. Labwor traditions tell of a attention has been given to Lango traditions about migration before migration by Paraniotic-speaking peoples into Karamoja from the Oukani" (in Ajie, "Oukani"), the mountain on the Karamoja-Lango north-west which clearly does not correspond to the migration of the border from which a great many Lango clans say they entered their Koten-Magos group from the due north or north-east. According to the present homeland. Recent observers of the Langi, including Oukani Labwor, this more westerly group followed a route which brought them and Toth himself, have begun to pay closer attention to Lango clan southward through central and western parts of Karamoja, well to the histories, and it is very significant that in virtually all cases west of Koten and the Magos Hills:

They came from the Sudan via Mt. Orom and Kalomide, and on to Mt. Toror, where they halted. Some went westwards from there via Theno and Ongoropon looking for food. They pushed on to Koyo, Tartugo, Kodea and Wialia, and then on towards the Moroto River. They occupied all those places until the great famine came and drove many of them to Lango and eastern Acoli.

A second group also came from the same direction, but followed different routes to the south. The first of them went past Kalodwong and on into eastern Acoli, while those who came behind came from Orom to Kapeta, and then to Tikidani (in Ajie, "Kotidani") and settled near Kalanga mountain. Then some of them came on to Labwor, via Rwet mountain.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Pidele (Otyang) and Okelo (Epui Woirono), L-9. The migration of one of these groups, called "Lango Tiro" by the eastern Acoli, has recently been at least tentatively dated by Professor Webster. According to his estimate the group appears to have been moving toward Ayal on the present Karamoja - Acoli border between 1598-1652 (Webster, "The Peopling of Ayal", op.cit., p.4).



Reference to Map 4 accompanying this text shows that such a route would have brought these people southwards through, or very close to, areas occupied, or once occupied, by the Eyan, Poet (or Poot), Loser, Nyakwai, and Labwor, all of whom were either descended mainly from, or at least incorporated considerable numbers of, Agricultural Paraniotic elements.

As Tosh points out in his thesis on the Langi, "insufficient attention has been given to Lango traditions about migration before Otuke"<sup>1</sup> (in Ajie, "Otukei"), the mountain on the Karamoja-Lango border from which a great many Lango clans say they entered their present homeland. Recent observers of the Langi, including Ogwal<sup>2</sup> and Tosh himself, have begun to pay closer attention to Lango clan histories, and it is very significant that in virtually all cases where clans could recall an earlier homeland than Otukei or neighbouring areas of Karamoja, they indicated places in that part of the Southern Sudan more or less directly north of the natural pass at Mt. Orom. From that part of the Sudan (often named "Sudan-Wila" in the Lango traditions), variously identified as "Didinga", "Lotuko", and "Shilluk" (all given by Labwor traditions as well), the migration route to the south lay "through east Acoli to Otuke", which, as Tosh suggests, seems reinforced by Driberg's impression that the "Lango tribe as a whole originated near the Agoro hills which nowadays divide Acholi from Lotuko."<sup>3</sup> As the same place names along the route from

1 Tosh, op.cit., Ch. 1., p.13.

2 Ogwal, R., "History of Lango Clans", an unpublished ms., a copy of which is in the possession of the Makerere University Department of History.

3 Tosh, loc.cit., Driberg, op.cit., pp.27-8.



the north, including Kodea (in the Labwor dialect, "Adea Rock", in Lango) and Loyoroit (Labwor; "Oyoroit", Lango), are mentioned in both Labwor and Lango traditions, there can hardly be any doubt that the traditions of the two peoples are describing the same migration. Finally, and very significantly, according to Ogwal's and Tosh's researches, branches of at least three of Tarantino's four "universal" clans (Atek, Okarowok, and Otengoro) are among those Lango clans which trace their origin to the migration from "Sudan-Wila".<sup>1</sup>

There are additional indications that other Agricultural Paraniotic groups entered Karamoja from the same direction. The Eyan, for example, who now inhabit the eastern slopes of Mt. Orom itself, while unable to trace their origins further back than Orom, do indicate that their former homes were on the western slopes of the mountain, just above the Orom pass.<sup>2</sup> The Poet (or Foot) group, also descended mainly from Agricultural Paraniotes, who once occupied the Kapeta River area at the southern end of the pass, have a tradition that:

We Foot came to this area (the Kopos area of Dodos) from the west. Our ancestors came from the direction of Orom via Kamoce, and they were related to the Ngigyan who still live there. They came here as cultivators, without cattle.<sup>3</sup>

Further south, the Miro, a group of Agricultural Paraniotes who occupied an area along the Omanimani River before the advent of Kote n-Magos elements of the Karimojong, recall that:

<sup>1</sup> Ogwal, *op.cit.*, p.46 and 57-8; Tosh's data is included in the impressive card-file on Lango clans which he compiled during his research. I am very grateful to him for allowing me free access to this file.

<sup>2</sup> Lokidi (Antonio), Y-1. Eyan traditions also speak of some Labwor elements moving south from Orom.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence (1955), *op.cit.* p.12. The existence of this concentration

<sup>3</sup> Atebe and Lokol, D-11, by Karimojong traditions recorded in my interviews 82-7 and 82-9.

<sup>4</sup> Fidele (Otyang) and Okole (Apul Koirano), L-9. Although the continued



Our ancestors came here from the north-west, from the direction of that land which is now inhabited by the Lango Miro. We were originally the same people as those Lango Miro, and we left them behind in the north-west when we came here. The Karimojong were still living north of the Apule River at that time.<sup>1</sup>

There is also evidence that at least some of the Iteso clans may have entered their present homeland from roughly the same direction,<sup>2</sup> and there can be no doubt that a major (proto-) Iteso concentration existed in the Nepak area on the eastern frontier of present-day Karamoja,<sup>3</sup> not far to the south of the headwaters of the Moroto River, that area into which Labwor traditions maintain that some Agricultural Paraniotic elements were pushing after the dispersal in the region of Mt. Toror.

Indeed, there are indications from Labwor traditions that even the Ngicuro Turkana originally were part of that migration which entered Karamoja from the north-west. After the Agricultural Paraniotics had penetrated as far south as Mt. Toror, the traditions claim, a halt was called, followed by a dispersal of various of their groups:

At Mt. Toror, they stopped, and there was hunger there at Toror. Some of the people had a few cattle and others had none. Those who had a few cattle went away to the east to Koromoc, Looya, and the Tarash River, east of Koton. There were other Turkana, as well as Karimojong and Jie, living in that direction already, whose grazing land was Koton. The people who went east from Toror joined with the Turkana, and they themselves became Turkana. The other people at Toror moved west and became the Langi, as we have said.<sup>4</sup>

1 Muya (Nawot), MOK-1.

2 See, for example, Webster, "The Iteso During the Asonya", op.cit. and Tarantino, "Notes on the Lango", op.cit., p.146. Similar evidence was provided by traditions recorded in my own interviews: L-4, J-36, J-75 and J-114.

3 Lawrance (1955), op.cit. p.12. The existence of this concentration was further supported by Karimojong traditions recorded in my interviews BK-7 and BK-9.

4 Pidele (Otyang) and Okelo (Epui Woirono), L-9. Although the continued  
overleaf



This tradition, with its mention of two Turkana groups, was at first most confusing, but in the light of the indications that the Turkana were in fact composed of two distinct groups, it appears to make much more sense. Moreover, as the Turkana tradition recorded on p. 178 above indicates, the story of Nayece invariably pictures her coming to the Tarash, not from Koten, but from "Najie". In other words, she is pictured as coming from west of the Koten area (in the direction of Toror) before the Koten-Magos group began its eighteenth century expansion (see Map 4). It is probably reasonable to assume, therefore, that the Labwor tradition is indeed the earliest glimpse of a primordial Ngicuro group still existent in oral tradition. It would seem, then, that the Ngicuro were part of the Agricultural Paraniotic migration from the north-west, but that the Ngicuro, unlike virtually any of the other groups which dispersed at Toror, took a route which brought them into close and prolonged contact with the group concentrated in the Koten-Magos area.<sup>1</sup>

Footnote 4 continued from overleaf

evidence seems somewhat unclear, Herring has recorded Nyakwai traditions which may indicate the same separation. Some Nyakwai traditions speak of a very early dispersal which caused some Nyakwai (the Thengor, cf., "Tengor", clan) to go to Lango, while other traditions concerning the same early period speak of other Nyakwai coming (? returning) from "Abwa", the Jie name for Turkana-land. (Herring, op.cit., pp.8-9).

- 1 It is also strongly suggested that the Kenya Iteso whom K.R. Dundas ("The Wawanga and other Tribes of the Elgon District", JRAI, XLIII, 1913, pp.62-3) and subsequent writers mention as having broken from "the Turkana", in fact split off from the Ngicuro division, possibly before the arrival of the Ngimonia. It should be noted that, according to Dundas' Itesyo clan list, nine Itesyo clan names also appear among the Turkana, and that all nine (again including the four "universal" clans of Tarantino) appear only among the Turkana Ngicuro division. Not a single Ngimonia clan seems represented in Itesyo society.

several centuries.<sup>1</sup>

mentioning a separation between proto-Agricultural and proto-  
Koten-Magoe Paraniotes in an unspecified area, might just

A strikingly close parallel to this suggested reconstruction  
southern Sudan. Central Parahilotic history exists among the oral  
traditions of the Southern Parahilotic-speaking pastoral people.

Nor is it surprising, that, when the Koton-Magos group began its eighteenth century expansions south and west from its former concentration, most of the outlying Agricultural Paranilotic groups they encountered should have been regarded as

"different people" or "strangers", after a period of separation in the nineteenth century, elements of the two Masai-speaking groups re-encountered one another in parts of Kenya and Tanzania. They did so virtually as strangers, the Masai nicknaming the two groups Iluoganya ("surprise", i.e. "those who were dead and suddenly come back to life"), Ilimogaya ("the deaf mutes", from their inability to speak "proper" Masai anymore), and Ilimbo ("farmers"). Indeed, the differences between the two groups had become so pronounced during their period of separation that a long series of "civil" wars were fought between them during much of the latter half of the nineteenth century.



and independent evolution which had lasted most probably for several centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, it must be pointed out that many Agricultural groups experienced interactions with alien peoples during or before their southward migration, which would have made them seem even more unfamiliar to the Kote-Magos group when contact was re-established in the eighteenth century. The first of these inter-actions appear to have been with Northern Paraniotic-speakers, peoples akin to the present day Bari and Lotuko. While indications of such contact are admittedly vague, they are sufficient in aggregate to show that some early contact took place between the Agricultural Central Paraniotes and Northern Paraniotes which was not experienced by the Kote-Magos group.

To begin with, from oral traditions of the Eastern Acoli, Webster feels it possible that elements of the Northern Paraniotic-

<sup>1</sup> A strikingly close parallel to this suggested reconstruction of early Central Paraniotic history exists among the oral traditions of the Southern Paraniotic-speaking Pastoral Maasai. The Maasai traditions collected by Jacobs and recorded in his unpublished D.Phil. thesis, The Traditional Political Organization of the Pastoral Maasai, Oxford, 1965, pp.28-34, relate that during their migration from the north, the Maasai-speaking peoples divided into two major groups, the Il Maasai following one route, and the Iloikop another. After their separation the Il Maasai developed an economy based on intensive pastoralism (much in the same way as the Kote-Magos group of Central Paraniotes), while the Iloikop placed a stronger reliance on agriculture (much like various groups of the Agricultural Central Paraniotes). When in the nineteenth century, elements of the two Maasai-speaking groups re-encountered one another in parts of Kenya and Tanzania, they did so virtually as strangers, the Maasai nicknaming Iloikop groups Ilmengenya ("corpses", i.e. "those who were dead and suddenly come back to life"), Ilmingana ("the deaf mutes", from their inability to speak "proper" Maasai anymore), and Ilumbwa ("farmers"). Indeed, the differences between the two groups had become so pronounced during their period of separation that a long series of "civil" wars were fought between them during much of the latter half of the nineteenth century.



important Jo-komun clan.

speaking Lotuko pre-existed the arrival of Lwo-speaking groups in the Agago area of eastern Acholi, on or very close to the migration route of the Agricultural Paraniotic groups from the north, and a Labwor informant of a clan which was probably of Agricultural Paraniotic affiliation stated that his ancestors were "once one people with the Lotuko and spoke the Lotuko language."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, at least five Bari clan names appear to have existed among the Central Paraniotes, and all of them seem to have originally been associated with the various Agricultural Paraniotic groups, rather than with the Koton-Magos group. The clans are: Karyak or Kariak ("Karewok", one of Tarantino's "universal" clans), Sera ("Loser", the clan, and "Ngiseera", the people, among the Jie and Iteso, plus a Koton-Magos name for the Langi as a whole), Rito ("Ngerepo" or "Ngereto" among many Central Paraniotic tribes), Gela ("Gelangole" among the Jie) and Lokaamiro (quite possibly an early form of "Miro" or "Miuro", now applied to the Lango and to an early Agricultural Paraniotic group in the Karimojong area).<sup>2</sup> In addition, the Bari-speaking Kuku may well be represented among the Labwor as the ritually

- If such a presence was in the form of assimilated Bari clans
- 1 Webster, "State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago", op.cit. p.5; Okidi (Sime), L-10, whose clan is Kapwor.
  - 2 Bari clans are listed in Beaton, A.C., "The Bari: Clan and Age-Class Systems", S.N.R. XIX, 1936, pp.110-120. The Bari Panigilo or Panyari clan may be represented among the Eyan and Labwor as the "Ki-panya" and "Panyamenya" clans, respectively, and possibly among the Jie as the division called "Panyangara". Another Bari clan, Lodara, would seem to be represented among the Jie as "Lodera", but available data seems to suggest that Lodera was originally affiliated with the Koton-Magos concentration. It is furthermore tempting to link the Lotuko place-name "Kapoeta" (which can be translated as "the place of the Post") with the Poet group of Agricultural Central Paraniotes.

op.cit.



important Jo-kokuku clan.

It is also recalled in many oral traditions that some of the

Agricultural Paraniotes possessed the knowledge of iron smelting when they came from the north. Indeed, there are indications that Paraniotic-speaking Eyan first taught the art to Lwo-speaking clans of the proto-Labwor (who were to become the preeminent black-smiths of Karamoja). As it is extremely rare to find clans of Paraniotic origin acting as their own blacksmiths (and as already pointed out the Koton-Magos group certainly did not possess the art), it can be suggested that included in some of the Agricultural Paraniotic groups were clans of Paraniotic-speaking Madi who had been absorbed

as 'dupi (serfs) somewhere beyond Mt. Orom. Crazzolara has argued that certain place names and clan names in the Labwor Hills and other parts of Western Karamoja and in eastern Acholi point to a Madi presence at some point in the relatively distant past, and Webster's researches in eastern Acholi have indicated much the same thing.<sup>1</sup> And yet, during my own research not a single tradition specifically indicating a Madi presence was ever collected.

If such a presence was in the form of assimilated 'dupi clans belonging to some of the Agricultural Paraniotic groups which entered Karamoja from the north-west, then it would seem possible to reconcile Crazzolara's ideas and the testimonies of my informants. It is reasonable to suppose that, as Paraniotic-speaking groups pushed south into the unknown areas beyond Orom, inter-dependence

1 Crazzolara, op.cit.; Webster's data are contained in virtually all of his unpublished seminar papers on the Eastern Acoli, op.cit.

would have grown up between 'dupi' and "free" clans so that eventually the 'dupi' would have been totally absorbed into and indistinguishable from the Paraniotic group.

To my mind, some such reconstruction is the only possible explanation for the appearance of such a group as the "Eparadup" among the Nyakwai, which Crazzolara, probably quite correctly, suggests was connected with the originally Madi-speaking 'dupi'.<sup>1</sup> It would seem highly unlikely that such a group would choose to refer to themselves as "serfs" if they were part of a free and independent Madi population: clearly, rather, they must have been an assimilated segment of a Paraniotic-speaking group who so named them.

There is, moreover, certain archaeological and ethnological evidence which appears to reinforce the idea of a Northern Paraniotic presence among the Central Agricultural Paraniotic groups. The circles of flat stones and the massive deep-basin grinding stones (so unlike the small round ones of the Koton sites) which are typical features of Agricultural Paraniotic settlement sites in western and central Karamoja bear a striking resemblance to those illustrated in photographs taken by C. G. Seligman in Bari villages, while a visit made to remote

1 Crazzolara, op.cit., p.207, and also his The Lwoo, Part III, p.339. It is notable that Herring, op.cit., p.5, records that the Eparadup are also known as "kathath", which simply means "blacksmith", and they regard themselves as "peddlars of iron tools and weapons." Traditions of their origin are vague, but speak of them coming from the north and "a firm feeling that their history is closely bound up with that of Kajimo", a Nyakwai clan clearly of Agricultural Paraniotic origin.





Plate VIII (above):  
A stone circle at the Kotidani sites once occupied by the Agricultural Paraniotic Kapwor group.

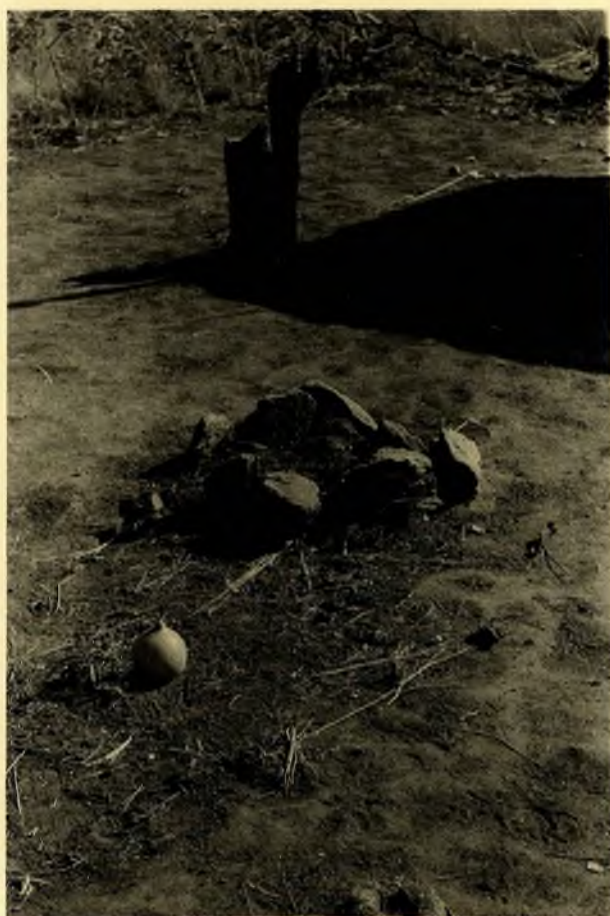


Plate IX (left):  
A stone circle in current use as a shrine at an Eyan homestead on Mt. Orom.



groups appear to have entered Darasaga from that part of the southern Eyan villages on the slopes of Mt. Orom revealed very similar stone circles still in use as shrines.<sup>1</sup> Ethnologically, the important Bari ritual functionary, the ngutu lo lori, "the person of the iron rod", who "exorcises illness from the villages and whose symbol of office and tool is an iron rod" has an exact parallel in two Jie ritual functionaries, both of which come from clans of Agricultural Paraniotic origin, whose symbol of office and tool is the anywil, a bar of iron, used during times of widespread illness or famine.<sup>2</sup> Finally, as will be considered at length in a later chapter, there is evidence to conclude that the New Fire ritual which is of particular importance to the Jie and to the Ngikaato division of the Dodos may have been derived from a Northern Paraniotic (possibly Lotuko) source.<sup>3</sup>

From the Labwor and Lango traditions, the Agricultural Paraniotic

- 1 The photographs appear in Seligman, C.F. and B.Z., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932.
- 2 Ibid., p.254. The Jie clans are Lominit for the Ngikorwakol moiety, and for the Rengen, some clans of the Lokatap division (probably kalolet), virtually all of which were originally descended from Agricultural Paraniotes.

It is tempting to see some connection between the Lominit and the Lotuko Lomini clan, but as the Jie clan was simply named for a kind of tree (eminit), this would seem questionable. Still, it is worth noting that Weatherby has collected Tepes traditions which recall that a people called "Ngiminio" (the name of the people of a group called "Lominit"), now disappeared, were early inhabitants of part of the country now inhabited by the Karimojong.

- 3 It is also worth noting that an important part of the preparation for the burial of a Bari rain-maker includes the blocking of all the orifices of the body (Ibid., p.292). Perhaps significantly, the lobunat or lomalol ceremony, performed only by those clans of Agricultural Paraniotic origin, in which an animal is ritually suffocated, includes the ceremonial blocking of all its orifices as it is put to death.



groups appear to have entered Karamoja from that part of the southern Sudan now occupied by Northern Paranihotic-speaking peoples. While our knowledge of Northern Paranihotic history is only sketchy, Bari traditions do indicate that, after a migration from the east, they had arrived on the east bank of the Nile by at least the mid-sixteenth century, when their Bekat Limat line of Rain Chiefs was established at Sindiru, some 40 miles south of Juba.<sup>1</sup> While traditions concerning that eastern migration seem almost totally lacking, it seems obvious that such a migration must have taken them from or through at least part of the area claimed by many Agricultural Paranihotes as their previous homeland at some date prior to the mid-sixteenth century. Some contact between the two peoples in that part of the southern Sudan beyond Mt. Orom, therefore, would seem within the realm of possibility.<sup>2</sup> Without additional concrete evidence, oral or otherwise, however, it is unfortunately impossible to explore these tantalising hints of Northern Paranihotic - Central Agricultural Paranihotic contact further.<sup>3</sup>

1 Beaton, A.C., "A Chapter in Bari History", SNR, XVII, 1934, p.169.

2 Webster, in a recent personal communication commenting on some of my ideas concerning the Northern Paranihotic presence, adds that, according to recent research, no less than four Northern Paranihotic groups pushed southwards into Karamoja between c.1490 - 1570. He also notes that the large Ilogir clan found among the Iteso, Lango and Kumam appears to be of Bari origin. Finally, he notes that a research student has recently recorded a Kakwa (Northern Paranihotic) tradition that they "separated from the Iteso at Kapoeta".

3 It should be made clear that there is, as far as I know, no linguistic trace of any Northern Paranihotic dialect among any of the peoples now living in Karamoja or in neighbouring areas to the west or south. The one exception to this is the Mening tribe who live north of the Nyangaea, just south of the Sudan border. According to Fr. J. Flores of the Verona Mission, Kaabong, who is studying their language, they are a very recent immigrant group from the Lotuko, and so definitely are not part of the Agricultural Paranihotic migration.

3 All of Webster's Eastern Acoli seminar papers, 22.511.

If Agricultural Central Paraniotic contact with Northern Paraniotic elements is thus only vaguely, and indeed somewhat hypothetically, perceived, indications of contacts between Agricultural and Lwo-speakers generally appear to have played the dominant role. Paraniotic groups and another alien people, the Lwo, are, on the other hand, both abundant and clear.

Labwor traditions, for example, state that the Agricultural Paraniotic migration from the north was accompanied by a concurrent Lwo migration from the same direction:

The Langi (ie. The Agricultural Paraniotes) and (Lwo-speaking clans of) the Labwor came together from north of Mt. Orom. They walked side by side but they were two different tribes, and they weren't really together. The Labwor spoke this present language (a Lwo dialect) and the Langi spoke Akarimojong. The Labwor walked slightly to the west and the Langi walked slightly to the east.<sup>1</sup>

Even among the Itesyo, the southern-most of the tribes descended mainly from Agricultural Paraniotes, Were has recorded traditions that Lwo-speaking peoples were their neighbours in the Sudan and that the migrations of the two peoples south-ward were concurrent.<sup>2</sup> Webster's Eastern Acholi traditions likewise present a picture of early Eastern Acholi history in which the dominant theme is the interaction between Lwo and Agricultural Paraniotic groups all along the present Acholi-Karamoja frontier, down the length of which, on either side, the migrations seem to have passed.<sup>3</sup>

Contacts between the two peoples were to bring about considerable

1 Awok (Anjelo) 1-6.

2 Were (1967) op. cit., p.25.

3 All of Webster's Eastern Acoli seminar papers, op.cit.



more than slight and who were predominantly or entirely Paranilotic-speaking. Labwor informants described it like this:

linguistic, socio-political, and economic interactions, in which

the Lwo-speakers generally appear to have played the dominant role.

These effects, especially linguistic, are the most obvious in the

case of Kumam, Langi, and Labwor. In all of these societies the

clans which originally spoke a Paranilotic tongue were so influenced

by Lwo contacts that they entirely abandoned their previous language

in favour of Lwo dialects.<sup>1</sup> Such effects were not confined only to

those three societies, but extended to other Agricultural Paranilotic

groups who by the eighteenth century had become bilingual. By that

time, a kind of linguistic spectrum seems to have extended across

central Karamoja. In the west, on the present Acholi-Karamoja

frontier, and southward to the area of Otukei, people were predom-

inantly, if not exclusively, Lwo-speaking, regardless of their

original ethnic affiliation. Further east, in what was to become

Najie and southern Dodos, they seem to have been increasingly more

bilingual, so that descendents of the Poot or Poet group, roughly

in the middle of the spectrum, are equally divided as to whether

their ancestors' original language was Lwo or Paranilotic. Finally,

in the extreme east, in the area of Koten and the Magos Hills, was

that concentration of Paranilotes whose Lwo contacts had been no

1 For the Kumam, see Odada, *op.cit.*, and Walshe, *op.cit.*, for the Langi, see Tarantino (1946), *op.cit.*, and Tosh, *op.cit.*, Chapter 1. The Lango adoption of a Lwo dialect has been so complete that Driberg, *op.cit.*, argued that they were of Lwo origin. The Labwor evidence is mainly from my own researches, and here a number of important clans do, in fact, seem to have been originally Lwo-speaking.

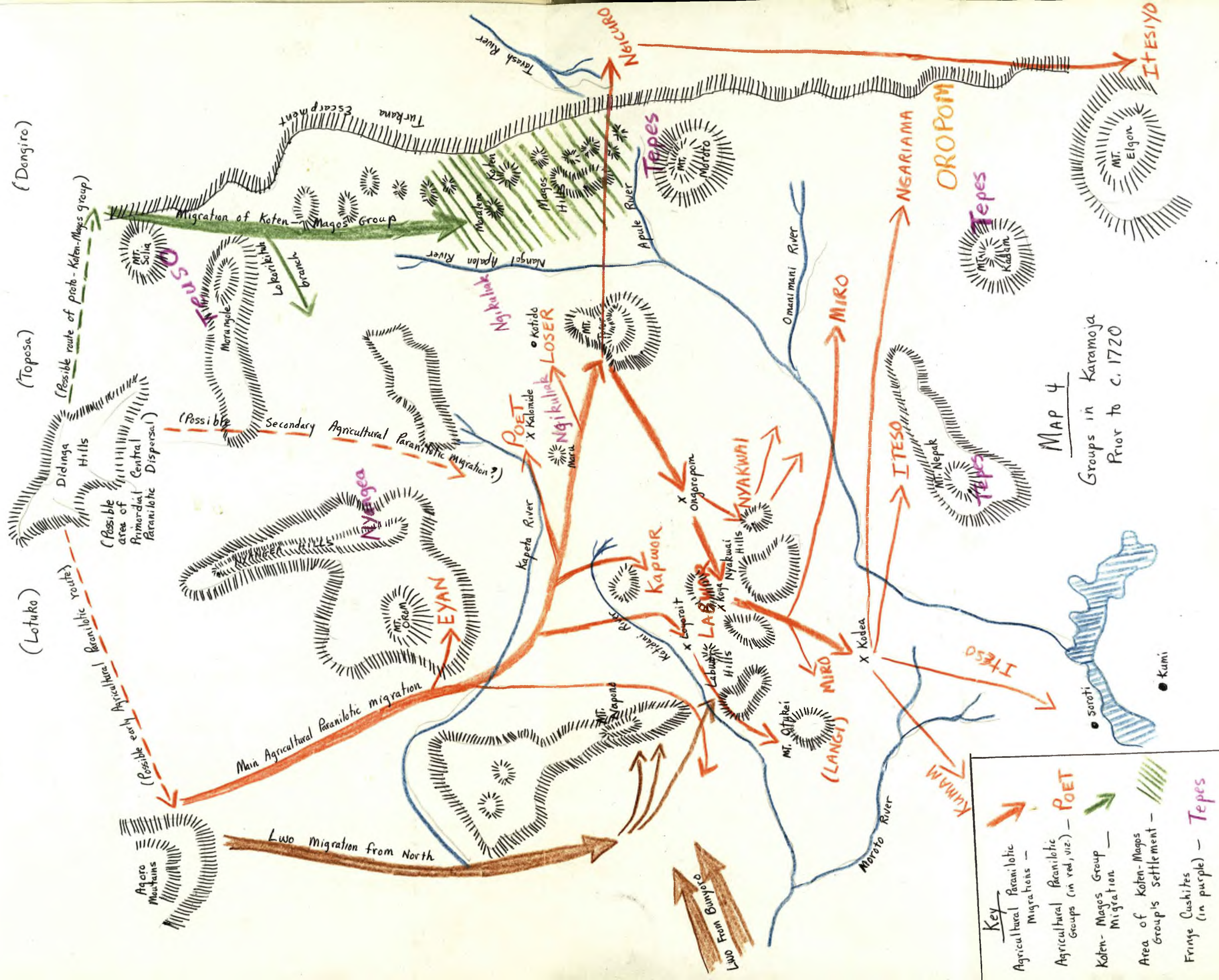
more than slight and who were predominantly or entirely Paranilotic-speaking. Labwor informants described it like this:

Long ago, the Acoli, Labwor and Langi were together and they all spoke a similar language. The Jie, Turkana, Dodos, and Karimojong were together and they spoke a different language. But the Langi, who lived closer to the Jie and the others of our group, knew both languages equally well.<sup>1</sup>

The economic and socio-political influences of the Lwo upon many of the Agricultural Paranilotic groups will be discussed at greater length in the following chapters. For the time being, it is sufficient to note that many oral traditions credit the Agricultural Paranilotes with the introduction of both new crops and advanced agricultural techniques which were probably derived from a Lwo source, and indeed, at least one of their major habitation sites near the Kotidani River in west-central Karamoja exhibits terraced hillsides and irrigation channels, as well as the ubiquitous deep-basin grinding stones, all of which reflect an agricultural intensification and sophistication unrivalled by the Kote-Magos group. Indeed, the agricultural intensity reflected by their sites throughout central

- 1 Ongom (Justo) and Riyonga (Matayo), L-3. It should be made clear that Central Paranilotic dialects retained by Agricultural Paranilotic groups (such as the Iteso, whose contacts with Lwo-speakers must have been less intense) are still reasonably close to the Central Paranilotic dialects spoken by those peoples largely descended from the Kote-Magos group. In their Non-Bantu Languages of North Eastern Africa (London, 1956, pp.109-11), A.N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan even describe Akarimojong, Ajie and Adodos as belonging to what they term the "Teso Language Group". In recent personal communication, Professor Tucker described Ateso as a "broken down form of Akarimojong", which has lost certain elements (such as the open/closed vowel sounds) only very recently.







Karamoja has led Nelson to describe them simply as "a group of agriculturalists".<sup>1</sup> Within the political sphere, some Agricultural Paraniotic groups appear to have been influenced by the Lwo concept of the Rwot (chief or king), and, as will be argued in a later chapter, imparted it to several of the primordial Central Paraniotic societies of Karamoja.<sup>2</sup>

\*\*\*\*\*

From all of the regrettably but necessarily complicated data presented above, it is now possible to attempt a brief reconstruction of the situation in Karamoja prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century, on the eve of the Jie genesis. Throughout this reconstruction, reference to Map 4 is essential.

Bands of Fringe Cushitic-speaking peoples, who certainly represented one of the earliest populations of Karamoja and probably ranged

1 Nelson, *op.cit.*, p.2. He classifies them as "Group III", between a group of Late Stone Age peoples and the "modern pastoral inhabitants".

2 Within the cultural sphere, the avoidance of bushbuck, which seems to have formed one of the range of ngitalia common to all the Agricultural Paraniotic groups, may well have been derived from a Lwo source. This process certainly occurred amongst Lwo groups themselves, and between them and Bantu-speaking kingdoms to their south-west, as described by F.K. Girling (*The Acholi of Uganda*, London, 1960, p.77): "There is a tendency, it seems, for common lineages to adopt taboos of the aristocratic lineages in their domain. The bush-buck is the most common of all totemic animals, and it is no coincidence that this is also the totem of the kings of Bunyoro-Kitara .... as well as being that of the Rwot of Payera. A common lineage .... which achieved sufficient numerical strength to establish itself independently .... commonly adopted the totemic observances of the most important ruling lineages."

Webster ("A Tentative Chronology for the Lwo", *op.cit.*) further argues that the bushbuck may have been the totemic animal for all the Lwo before their dispersal in Baar during their migration from the north, probably in the fifteenth century.



over a wide area, were still found throughout the whole length of Karamoja. At the northern and southern extremities, the Teso and Tepes inhabited the higher mountain regions, which served to isolate them from much outside influence. In the centre, however, the Ngikuliak (and probably to some extent the Nyangea, just to their north), inhabiting less imposing hills, were more open to contacts with outsiders, and seem to have experienced Kalenjin influences, probably before 1500. These Kalenjin-speaking peoples, who apparently occupied considerable parts of Karamoja prior to the sixteenth century, had disappeared by the eighteenth century, possibly assimilated or driven south by the southern advance of Central Paraniotic-speaking peoples from the southern Sudan. The Dropem, other early inhabitants of Karamoja, had also given up much of their former territory, and by the eighteenth century were confined to a small area within what was to become the country of the Karimojong. Their close interaction with the Kalenjin peoples still further to the west introduced them to the Kalenjin group and

To the north, possibly in that part of the southern Sudan now occupied by the Didinga or Lotuko, a separation between elements of a primordial Central Paraniotic group appears to have occurred, probably before the sixteenth century. It would seem that the two sub-divisions drifted apart, one group moving west and the other slightly east. The eastern group turned south, following the line of rugged escarpment hills from the present area of the Toposa or Dongiro down to the Koten-Magos hill country where they halted. The western group also turned south, possibly even before the eastern

appears to have pushed even further west into eastern Acholi, while group, entering Karamoja at the Mt. Orom pass, and experiencing close contacts with both Northern Paraniotic- and Lwo-speaking groups en route.

The eastern group, possibly after a brief clash with the rear-guard of the retreating Kalenjin, appear to have found the grasslands and hills of the Koton-Magos area to their liking, and although they ranged considerably within that area, they remained a compact group within a somewhat limited area of concentration. Largely dependent on hunting and gathering activities at first, they appear to have steadily developed an increasing reliance on pastoralism, to which the Koton-Magos area was well suited.

The western group, on the other hand, appears to have followed a route which took them southward through the wetter, western parts of Karamoja. Their close interaction with Lwo-speaking peoples still further to the west introduced them to new food crops and agricultural techniques, and while hunting and gathering continued, in some cases, to play an important role in their economy, most of their groups became progressively more agriculturally oriented. These Lwo contacts were also profoundly to affect them linguistically, culturally, and politically.

This Agricultural Central Paraniotic group itself seems to have entered Karamoja in two streams. One group appears to have adhered more closely to the range of mountains capped by Mt. Napono along the present Karamoja-Acholi frontier. Part of this group



appears to have pushed even further west into eastern Acholi, while the rest either remained at the Kotidani River as the group which became known as "Kapwor", or else gradually moved on from that area westwards via Loyoroit into Labwor. The other Agricultural Parani-  
lotic stream adhered to a more easterly route after emerging from the Orom pass, leaving splinter groups behind them as they came: the Eyan (probably the first to break off) remaining at Orom itself, the Poet or Poot remaining in the Kapeta River area between Orom and Kalomide, and the Loser and several smaller groups remaining in what was to become central Najie. It was probably these Ngiseera or a related Agricultural Parani-  
lotic group which exerted enough influence over Ngikuliak bands to cause them to adopt the Central Parani-  
lotic dialect they were speaking by the eighteenth century.

Reaching Mt. Toror, the remainder of the group dispersed, possibly because of famine. While many of them (probably disenchanted by the steadily drier country into which they were moving) veered off to the west, others moved to the east, where, unlike virtually any other Agricultural Parani-  
lotic group, they established close contacts with the group concentrated at Koten and Magos, and formed the nucleus of the Ngicuro division of the Turkana, as well as providing considerable elements of the proto-Itesyo of Kenya.

Those who veered west from Toror either went up into the Nyakwai and Labwor highlands (from whence some appear to have returned again to the plains south of Toror), or else continued on through the highlands toward Otukei and the headwaters of the Moroto River.

Here another dispersal must have occurred, for while some proto-Kumam and Iteso elements appear to have pushed on more or less directly into their present countries, other Agricultural Paraniotic elements including the Ngariam and part of the Miro and proto-Iteso swung away to the east again, occupying much of the country south of the Omani River which was subsequently to be occupied by the Karimojong.

Thus, the more pastoral Koton-Magos concentration was to be surrounded on three sides by groups of Agricultural Paraniotes who, although linguistically related to them and once part of the same primordial group in the southern Sudan, had by the beginning of the eighteenth century, after a separation of perhaps more than two centuries, evolved linguistic, economic and socio-political differences which were to make them appear to be complete strangers. Many of these Agricultural Paraniotic groups appear to have been referred to as Ngikatapa ("bread people") as a somewhat disparaging comment on the economic outlook they had evolved. It was the appearance of some of these "Ngikatapa" from the west early in the eighteenth century, as recorded by the Jie tradition on p. 162 above, that was to be a very important factor in the dispersal of the Koton-Magos group, which led, in turn, to the formation of the distinct political entity called "Ngijie", as well as many of the other political communities which now comprise the Central Paraniotes.

Previous observers have tended to concentrate their attention on only one or another of the major groups whose interactions were



to bring about the formation of these political communities. Gulliver, and Nagashima following him, were most concerned with the Koton-Magos group. As the Jie family structure, closely tied up as it is with pastoral concerns, was most probably derived largely from the more pastorally oriented Koton-Magos group, it is hardly surprising that Gulliver, whose main concern was to achieve a detailed understanding of that structure, should be more influenced by the traditions of Koton-Magos clans. Moreover, the traditions of those clans tend to be more dramatic and memorable, and are the most widely known throughout most of the Ngikorwakol moiety.<sup>1</sup> It is very much to Gulliver's credit, therefore, that he should have so perceptibly challenged the pre-existing notions that the Agricultural Paraniotes were merely an advance guard which pushed out from the Koton-Magos concentration, and it is equally to Nagashima's credit that he did so much to point out the fundamental differences between the two major divisions of the Turkana and thus provide a valuable key with which to unlock the whole problem of the two Central Paraniotic-speaking groups.

On the other hand, Crazzolara, after years of historical research among Lwo- and Madi-speaking peoples, approached Central

- 1 It can also be noted that during his stay in Najie, Gulliver lived with the Losogot clan of the Kotido division which was apparently of Koton-Magos origin. Although Gulliver interviewed widely in Najie, my own experience, at any rate, clearly showed how difficult it is not to be rather strongly influenced by the clan or territorial division with whom one is most closely associated

Paranilotic history, as it were, "from the west". It is not at all surprising, therefore, that his main focus should have been on the more westerly Agricultural Paranilotic groups, rather at the expense of the Koton-Magos concentration.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, his identification of an "Eastern and Western Lango" may have been his interpretation of those traditions which do reflect the existence of the distinct Agricultural and Koton-Magos Paranilotic groups,<sup>2</sup> and the general drift of his "Lango" to the east may in fact have been a reflection of the very movements of various Agricultural Paranilotic people which brought them into contact with the Koton-Magos group, as is described in the following chapter.

- 1 Although Crazzolara (1960, op.cit.) does not specifically identify any of his informants in Karamoja, he does mention (p.209) that he met them at Catholic Missions. As the Catholic Mission in Najie is located in the heart of Losilang territorial division where the Agricultural Paranilotic element is the stronger, it would seem very likely that the traditions he was told were mainly, if not entirely, those of clans descended from various Agricultural Paranilotic groups.
- 2 Although the matter is no longer clear, it may be that the eastern Lwo-speaking peoples also originally made a clear distinction between Agricultural and Koton-Magos Central Paranilotes by their own terminology, largely descriptive of their respective economies. Observers have long been puzzled by such Lwo terms as "Lango dyang", "Lango Miro", "Lango Olok" and "Lango Dyel" used to identify various of their Paranilotic-speaking neighbours (see, for example, Driberg, op.cit. p.37; Gray, J.M., "Acholi History, 1860-1901 (Part I)", U.J. 15, 1951, p.122; and Bere, R.M., "An Outline of Acholi History", U.J. 11, 1947, p.5). It is tentatively suggested that the term "Lango dyang" (translatable as "the cattle strangers") may have been applied originally to the more pastoral Koton-Magos group, while the other terms were applied to various Agricultural Paranilotic peoples. Thus, "Lango Miro" may have been originally applied to that group of proto-Langi called "Miro". As for "Lango dyel", Girling (op.cit., p.209) has written of a group of Paranilotic-speaking cultivators (who owned goats, but apparently not cattle) living in the western slopes of Orom: "These are part of the people known to the Acholi as the Lango dyel, the 'goat Lango', to distinguish them from the Lango dyang, the 'cow Lango', or Karamojong

continued on next page



## CHAPTER IV

## THE JIE PARANIL

by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the increasingly strong pastoral outlook of the Kuten-Magos group, described in the preceding chapter (p. 174), was causing serious ecological pressures

Footnote 2 continued from previous page

within their area of concentration, and intergroup feuds were not

proper." Finally, the term "Lango olok" may have originally meant "the trapping strangers", from akilok, "to trap", and was also applied by the Lwo to Agricultural Paraniotes. A Labwor informant (John Ogwang, L-8) stated: "Those people were called Lan o Olok because they were always trapping wild animals."

Because there has been so much intermixture between Agricultural and Kuten-Magos Paraniotes since the eighteenth century, however, it would seem that their original descriptive applications are no longer suited to the groups for which they were intended, and are now used in a rather indiscriminant (and often confusing) way by Lwo-speakers to identify modern groups of Central Paraniotic origin.

At first there were no wars, no Jie - they were all one. But then there were quarrels. One day, boys were playing with bows and arrows as boys do, and they shot at each other by mistake. There was a big quarrel. The parents of the boy who was killed got those who supported him become the bakora. The parents of the other boy and his supporters became the Jie. Peace was made to stop the bakora said, "You have killed our child, and you must be punished."<sup>2</sup>

There are a number of versions of the legend in which the Kuten-Magos group began to split up. For example, a Karimojong tradition first recorded by Julliver,<sup>3</sup> purports to explain the separation

1. Agira (Tumwa), Karimojong, Karim (Lango) and Labwor, 1-17.

2. Bokale (Dwar), 1-97.

3. Julliver, F. H., "The Karimojong Cluster", Africa, 1952, p.5.

#### CHAPTER IV

#### THE JIE GENESIS

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the increasingly strong pastoral outlook of the Koton-Magos group, described in the preceding chapter (pp. 157-9), was causing serious ecological pressures within their area of concentration, and internecine feuds were engendered:

water was a problem at Koton. In the dry season everyone tried to water his cattle at once. This led to quarrels and fighting.<sup>1</sup>

Tempers became frayed and relatively minor incidents were blown out of proportion:

At first there were no Bokora, no Jie - they were all one. But then there were quarrels. One day, boys were playing with bows and arrows as boys do, and one shot and killed another by mistake. There was a big quarrel. The parents of the boy who was killed and those who supported them became the Bokora. The parents of the other boy and their supporters became the Jie. Those who were to become the Bokora said, "You have killed our child, and now we shall be enemies."<sup>2</sup>

There are a number of versions of the manner in which the Koton-Magos group began to split up. For example, a Karimojong tradition, first recorded by Gulliver,<sup>3</sup> purports to explain the separation

1 Igira (Yaramoi), Lokong, Muria (Longonyo) and Langlang, J-17.

2 Nakade (Peter) J-57.

3 Gulliver, P. H., "The Karimojong Cluster", Africa, XII, 1952, p.5.



between themselves and the Jie with reference to the group-name of the latter. According to the Karimojong tale, the Jie were "young men" who broke from their "fathers", the Karimojong, by taking cattle to the dry-season cattle camps (ngauyoi) and refusing to return with them. When ordered to return, the "young men" resisted their elders with spears, whereupon the "young men" formed their own tribe, Ngijie, "the fighting people".<sup>1</sup>

As noted above, traditions "relating to general history" of this sort, which undertake to explain the derivation of a name, are often highly suspect. Previous observers, however, unaware of this, have frequently accepted this tradition literally: Nagashima even commenting that "the Karimojong origin of the Jie is a case where neither traditions nor scholars have contradictory claims", and that such an origin can be accepted as "historical fact".<sup>2</sup>

The majority of traditions, however, indicate that the fragmentation of the Koton-Magos group was not directly caused by any single dramatic incident, but rather through a more gradual process of mounting ecological pressures and resulting intra-group frictions.

- 1 During my own research, this tradition was related by only one Jie and three Karimojong informants. The Karimojong informants were those of BK-1 and BK-2, whose clans, Katek and Lokatap, were probably not even part of the Koton-Magos concentration. The Jie informant was Beak (Timothy), informant of J-5, J-48 and J-126, who, although an excellent informant, was one of the first Jie converts to Christianity and as such (it is important to note) lived for a number of years among the Karimojong at the Lotome B.C.M.S. Mission station.

Gulliver (loc.cit.) wrote that "The Jie will not voluntarily tell this story", but when confronted with it, "will either grudgingly admit it or at least not attempt to deny it." In my own experience, however, I did not find this to be so. Most Jie informants whom I confronted with the story denied it with vehemence, except for a few who considered it extremely humorous, and denied it as ridiculous.

it would seem highly unlikely that at the time of their separation

any of the constituent parts of the Koton-Magos group were known

by their present tribal names, and those observers who have accepted the Karimojong tale as "historical fact" have overlooked many Jie traditions which clearly state that they were not known by the name "Ngijie" until fully a century after the dispersal of the Koton-Magos group.<sup>1</sup>

Thus some previous observers, including Gulliver and Nagashima, have been rather too concerned with determining the precise order in which various constituent groups of the Koton-Magos concentration are seen to have hived off from one another. It can be suggested that such concerns are of relatively minor importance, as it would seem very doubtful that any of those constituent groups possessed any strong feelings of corporate identity at the time of their separation.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the "blame" for the break-up of the Koton-Magos concentration lay not with any one of its embryonic constituent parts, but undoubtedly

1 The concept of a new group being formed by the break-away of young men going to ngauyoi is very popular in Central Paraniotic oral tradition. Among the Jie alone, it is given as the reason for the splitting off of the (Ngimonia) Turkana, the (Ngikor) Toposa, the (Sudan) Jiye and even the branches of several dispersed clans within Najie itself.

2 It can be commented that because of this, the Karimojong, who have been often regarded as the group from which all the other Central Paraniotes ultimately hived off, have attained an ethnocentric position among the Central Paraniotes totally unjustified by the oral traditions (or at any rate my interpretations of them). It is precisely for this reason that I have avoided the use of such heretofore popular terms as the "Karimojong Cluster".

1 Jadoi (Lokwangiro) and Longoli (Apariong), 1-23. The "story" in this tradition probably refers to those Jie who migrated west from Najie.

2 Oero and Ayakuu (Kilipar), 100-4.



with deep-seated problems of ecology and over-population.

It is clear that by the early years of the eighteenth century, the Koton-Magos group had become separated into two major parts, each of which had drifted out to opposite peripheries of the area of concentration. In the southern part of the region, from the Magos Hills down to the Apule River, were elements which were to provide important segments of Karimojong, Dodos, and (some) Toposa society, while in the north-west, at Koton and Morulem hills, were other elements which were to form important segments of Jie, Turkana, Dongiro, (Sudan) Jiye, and (some) Toposa society. (See Map 5.)

In the words of Jie informants:

The people who lived there in the east began to separate because of jealousy. The place became crowded and each group wanted to find enough land to live in. The Jie and their brothers the Turkana, Toposa, and Tobur lived together at Koton. The Karimojong, and their brothers the Dodos, were down at Magos.<sup>1</sup>

And from the Karimojong point of view:

At first, all the people lived near Lotisan well near Koton. Then the Karimojong decided to leave that place because of hunger and because the Jie were quarreling with them. So the Karimojong moved to the south and settled at Lokapel, Tutui and the other areas near the Apule River.<sup>2</sup>

To the majority of informants, the separation was simply "long ago", while others, including some of the best Jie, Turkana, and

1 Dodoi (Lokwangiro) and Longoli (Apariong), J-88. The "Tobur" in this tradition probably refers to those Labwor elements which did go west from Najie.

2 Cero and Anyakun (Kilipa), Bk-4.

**FIGURE 5** - Comparison of Jie, Turkana, Karimojong, and Dodos Generation-Sets.

	<u>Jie</u>	<u>Turkana</u>	<u>Karimojong</u>	<u>Dodos</u>
I	(Ngisir) (c.1680?)	(Ngimis or Ngimiik)	(Ngikakwang)	(Ngikorio)?
II	Ngipalajam (c.1720) A. Ngimirio	Ngipalajam	Ngipalajam	Ngimirio or Ngikaititi
III	Ngikok (c.1760)	Nginute or Ngisuguru	Ngimirio	Ngiputiro A. Ngikok
IV	Ngisiroi (c.1800)	Ngiputiro	Ngigetei I	Ngibaanga
V	Ngikokol (c.1840)	Ngimoru I	Ngingatunyo	Ngikoria or Ngitiira
VI	Ngikosowa (c.1880)	Ngirisai I	Ngitukoi	Ngitome
VII	Ngimugeto (c.1920)	Ngimoru II	Ngimoru	Ngikamar (?)
VIII	Ngitome (1963)	Ngirisai II	Ngigetei II	(forming)

#### NOTES

The Jie, Turkana and Dodos systems were reconstructed through my own researches. As noted in the text, there is far less certainty regarding the Dodos reconstruction than any of the others.

The Karimojong system was also reconstructed through my own researches, but it is important to note that this reconstruction corresponds exactly to that made by Mrs. Clark in 1950 (Clark D., "Karamojong Age-Groups and Clans", U.J., 14, 1950, pp.215-17).

Information concerning the span of generation-sets in non-Jie societies, plus other information relevant to this table can be found in Appendix 4, at the end of this thesis.



Karimojong informants, agreed that the two major sub-divisions were are different for each society. In no society did any reliable thus established on the peripheries of the Koton-Magos region at the informant attempt to name any generation-set preceding the "fathers" time of the asapanu Ngipalajam. A comparison of Jie, Turkana, Karimojong and Dodos generation-sets lends considerable support to the traditions of these informants. Reference to the accompanying Fig.5 shows that Ngipalajam is the only remembered generation-set to which the Jie, Turkana, and Karimojong agree they all concurrently belonged. Although no Dodos informant ever mentioned an asapanu called Ngipalajam, it was stated that a group called "Ngimirio" was initiated at that time, and Jie informants claimed that an age-set or age-section of their Ngipalajam generation was called Ngimirio.<sup>1</sup> Following Ngipalajam, it will be noted that there is virtually no correspondence between the names of the generation-sets initiated concurrently by the four societies, which is exactly what one would expect if, as reliable informants have indicated, Ngipalajam was the last generation-set to be inaugurated before the irreparable fragmentation of the Koton-Magos group into its various parts.

On the other hand, one would expect the generation-sets preceding Ngipalajam to have been the same for all four societies, as presumably prior to Ngipalajam all would have been part of one Koton-Magos concentration. From Fig.5, however, it will be seen that the names of these generation-sets of the "fathers" of Ngipalajam

- 1 It must be pointed out that despite interviewing some thirty Dodos informants in thirteen different interviews, I never achieved a very clear understanding of their asapanu system, and so I cannot be absolutely sure that no Ngipalajam generation existed for them at that time.

are different for each society. In no society did any reliable informant attempt to name any generation-set preceding the "fathers" of the Ngipalajam, and some expressed the belief that the "fathers" of Ngipalajam were "the first people - those who lived when the world was created." It is suggested that these names do not, in fact, refer to a generation-set as such but rather to the whole of the vaguely remembered (and partly mythological) epoch which preceded the better remembered and more factual historical epoch of Ngipalajam and the following generation-sets.<sup>1</sup> As Vansina has noted: "in cases where a mythical period is contrasted with a historical one, the duration of the former is reduced to a single moment in time."<sup>2</sup>

In his recent thesis on the Soga, Dr. D. H. Cohen makes the point that with the Soga, a number of cataclysmic events marked the division between the epoch of myth and the epoch of history to

1. I am very grateful to Professor Gulliver, who in personal communication after my return from Uganda in 1971, first made this suggestion to me. As he so correctly pointed out at that time, the various names assigned to these "fathers" of Ngipalajam are in themselves rather suspect. Whereas virtually all the asapanu names following them refer to an animal, or occasionally a plant or mineral, the names of these early "generation-sets" seem rather to refer to people. With the Jie, for instance, Ngisir can be translated as "the dandies" or "the decorated people", and both Gulliver and I felt that there may be some connection with Sirikwa, the name of an almost legendary people recalled in many Kalenjin and Southern Paraniotic traditions. While the Turkana themselves do not seem to know the meaning of Ngimis or Ngimiik, there may well be some connection with the Southern Paraniotic Il Mek, the name applied to any non-Maasai peoples. The Karimojong Ngikakwang appears to mean "the white people" or possibly "the light skinned people".

2. Vansina, op.cit... p.101.



the immediate and direct aftermath of the disaster which a credible chronology could be assigned.<sup>1</sup> With the Kotten-Magos group of Central Paraniotes, a very close parallel can be drawn, the immediate cataclysm being the disintegration of the group. Undoubtedly, this disintegration had its roots in the epoch preceding the inauguration of Ngipalajam, and the Kotten-Magos group had certainly been aware of mounting ecological pressures and resulting internecine feuds for some time prior to that inauguration. Nevertheless, in about 1720 when the new generation-set began its initiations, the Kotten-Magos peoples were still enough of a corporate group to select the same asapanu-name, Ngipalajam, for all their initiates. It was during the time spanned by the Ngipalajam initiations (c.1720-60) that the group was to fragment irrevocably, and with that fragmentation the first embryonic stirrings of several new Central Paraniotic societies, including the Jie, became apparent. As those new societies began their emergence, so too did the epoch of more chronologically reliable and factual history begin to emerge.<sup>2</sup>

If the gradual disintegration of the Kotten-Magos group was

- 1 Cohen, D.H., The Historical Tradition of Busoga, Uganda, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1970, pp.128-9.
- 2 It is noteworthy that the Gullivers (1953, op.cit., p.11) estimated that the break-up of the Kotten-Magos group (or the "Karamojong cluster", in their terminology) occurred at a date very close to that which I am also suggesting. The Gullivers estimated that the Jie "broke away from the Karamojong" not long after 1700, and my suggestion is that the Kotten-Magos group began to disintegrate soon after the inauguration of Ngipalajam in c.1720.

the immediate and direct cataclysm which signalled this new epoch, there was another cataclysm, which, if it only somewhat indirectly affected the Koton-Magos peoples, was nevertheless of key importance to the emergence of the new Central Paraniotic communities.

The traditions of the Eastern Acoli and the Labwor recall a terrible famine, remembered by the Acoli as the "Nyamdere", which brought great devastation to those primarily agricultural peoples, Lwo and Agricultural Paraniotic, who inhabited the borderland of present Karamoja and Acholi Districts. Some of Webster's Acoli informants still speak of the Nyamdere as "the greatest of all famines",<sup>1</sup> and from a great deal of oral evidence, Webster has deduced that the famine took place sometime between the years 1706-33. It is clear from both Acoli and Labwor oral evidence that a great deal of population movement all along the Acholi-Karamoja borderland resulted, as is indicated from the following Labwor tradition, which claims that a quarrel between Lwo and Agricultural Paraniotic groups "caused" the famine:

When the Morulem (division of the Labwor) arrived in their present area from Kwot (mountain), they found the Langi (Agricultural Paraniotes) still living in the Morulem area. There was a quarrel and Onyipo, the brother of Olemukan, the leader of the Morulem, was killed. So the Labwor dug up an ebele plant and turned it to face those people who had done wrong, and the sun shone for seven years with no rain. This caused the great famine (kec madit), and all the people of the area were

1 Webster J. B., "Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit., p.23.

2 According to Ogden (op.cit., p.7) a branch of the Langi also claim to have originated at this place (called Atungwaka in the Lwo dialect of the Langi) and so it may well have been an important Agricultural Paraniotic dispersal point.

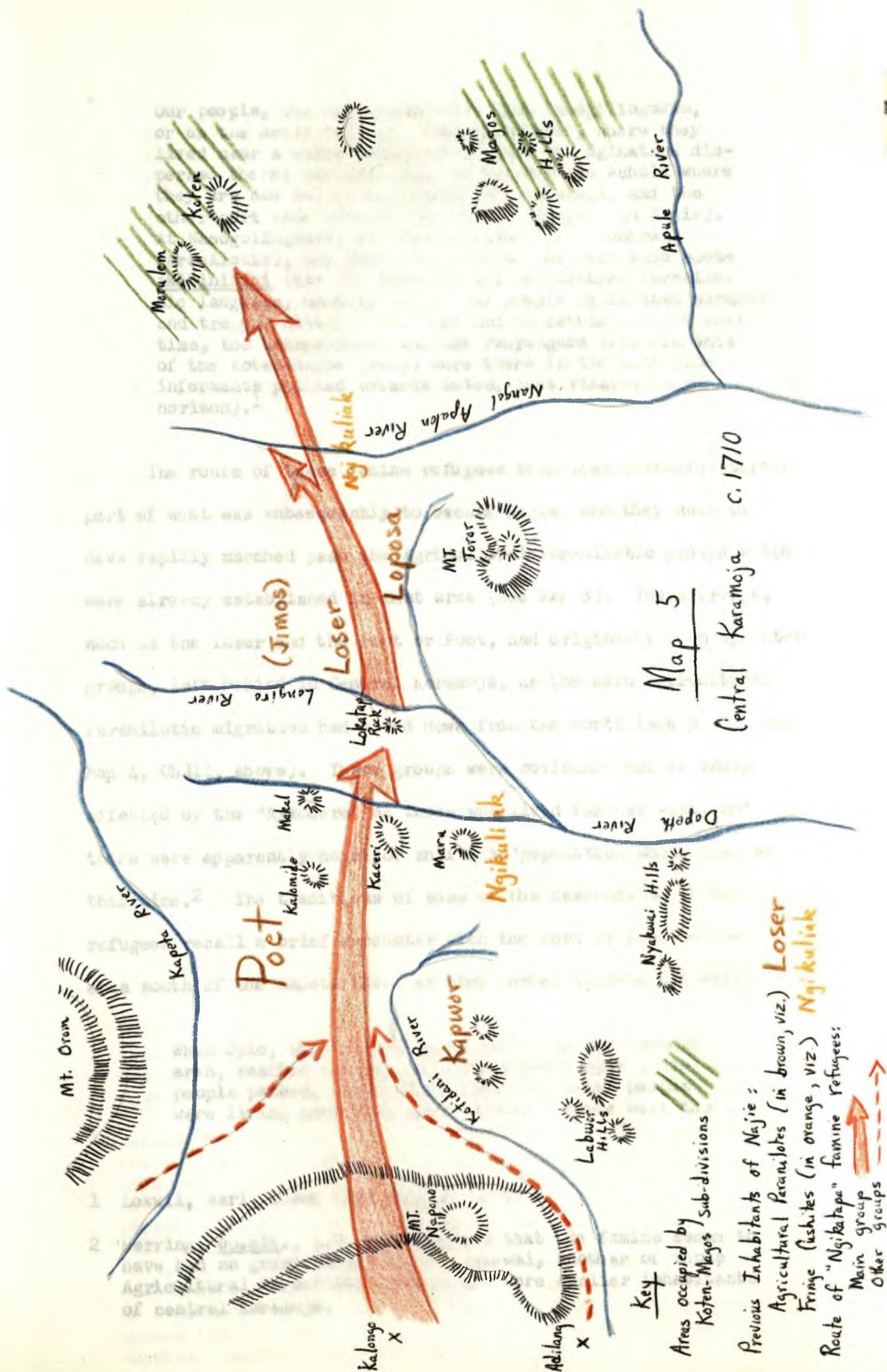


forced to disperse. Some went to Acoli and they are the present Payira. Others went to Lango and settled along the Ganotoro River. Others, including those who had a few cattle, went to the east to the Turkana (the Koten-Magos group)..... Even the Labwor who had caused that famine were affected by it, and most had to go up into the mountains to dig wild roots in order to stay alive.<sup>1</sup>

As the tradition states, some of the famine refugees pushed eastwards across Karamoja towards the Koten-Magos concentration. While the refugees appear to have come from many different areas along the Acholi-Karamoja borderland, the main group of them appear to have come from a place called Nasagolingokwo ("the place of dogs with long horns")<sup>2</sup> not far from the present village of Kalongo in eastern Acholi District. Others came from the Adilang area further south, and others from the direction of Orom, to the north, but in all cases, these refugees seem to have been primarily Agricultural Paraniotic groups who had had considerable Lwo contacts. In some instances they were bilingual in Lwo and Central Paraniotic dialects. The descendants of these refugees (who were given the nick-name Ngikatapa, "bread people", by the Koten-Magos group) described the homeland, way of life and the dispersal of their ancestors:

- 1 Fidele (Otyang) and Okelo (Epui Woiroho), L-9. The arrival of the Payira at this time is also recalled in Acoli tradition; see, for example, Webster, "The Peopling of Agago", op.cit. p.9. It should be noted that there is no connection between the Labwor Morulem division and the hill called Morulim near Koten. Both names simply mean "bare hill", a very common geographical feature in Karamoja.
- 2 According to Ogwal (op.cit., p.7) a branch of the Lango Atek clan also claims to have originated at this place (called Atungwoktu in the Lwo dialect of the Langi) and so it may well have been an important Agricultural Paraniotic dispersal point.







Our people, the Ngikatapa, came from Nasogolingokwo, or as the Acoli call it, "Nasogolingwok", where they lived near a water hole in a river. The Ngikatapa dispersed there: one part went to the west to Acholi where they are now called Ngikalopio or Ngikatapa, and the other part came here to the east to Rengen (in Najie). At Nasogolingokwo, our people spoke Ajie (Central Paraniotic), but those who went to the west also spoke akibinibini (the Jie term for any non-Central Paraniotic language, usually Iwo). Our people cultivated sorghum and trapped animals, but they had no cattle ... At that time, the Nakapelimoru and the Panyangara (Jie elements of the Koton-Magos group) were there in the east (the informants pointed towards Koton, just visible on the horizon).<sup>1</sup>

The route of these famine refugees took them eastwards across part of what was subsequently to become Najie, and they seem to have rapidly marched past the Agricultural Paraniotic groups which were already established in that area (see Map 5). These groups, such as the Loser and the Poet or Poot, had originally been splinter groups, left behind in Central Karamoja, as the main Agricultural Paraniotic migration had moved down from the north (see p. 205 and Map 4, Ch.III, above). These groups were obviously not as badly affected by the "Nyandere" as those who lived further west, and there were apparently no major shifts in population among them at this time.<sup>2</sup> The traditions of some of the descendants of the refugees recall a brief encounter with the Poet or Poot in the area south of the Kapeta River as they pushed towards the east:

1 When Opio, who led the group east from the Kalongo area, reached Lokatap Rock in Rengen (Najie), his people paused. Opio discovered that other people were living near that area already - those were the

2 Nakale (J-91), 4-77. Although early Jie traditions state that these "Ngikatapa" arrived as refugees from famine, other versions state that they came to the area because of

1 Lokwii, Wari, Locan (and others) J-95.

2 Herring, op.cit., p.7, also reports that the famine seems to have had no great effect on the Nyakwai, another of those Agricultural Paraniotic groups who were earlier inhabitants of central Karamoja.

It was found that the move was in fact caused by a famine. See Lobster, "Acholi Historical Texts", p.42.



then, Poot, who lived just to the north, Opio decided not to remain there, but to take his people on to the east where the Jie, Turkana and other people (eg. the Koten-Magos group) were living.<sup>1</sup>

After the brief halt at Lokatap Rock, the refugees moved on until they arrived at the Nangol Apalon River. According to the traditions of the Koten-Magos elements, one group of them, LWO-speaking blacksmiths, remained on the right bank of the river, while the remainder pushed on to Koten itself where they came into contact with those Koten-Magos elements who were drifting out to the north-western periphery of the area of concentration (see Map 5). Jie traditions recall the appearance of these refugees from the west:

After the people had been living in the Koten area for a long time, an Ekatapit (pl. Ngikatapa) came to Koten from the west. He came via Lobal to Lokatap Rock in Rengen, and continued on to the east till he came to Longiro where he found many wild animals: elands, giraffe, gazelles, and among them a bull (engi-ro, "light-grey coloured bull").... He went on till he arrived at Koten, and he told the people there - the Jie, Turkana, Toposa and the others, "You people are living in a bad area here. If you come to the west, you will find many wild animals to hunt." <sup>2</sup>

It was during the early stages of the Ngipalajam asapanu,

- 1 Okeo (Yonasan), L-11. Although now resident in Labwor, Okeo was born an Acoli, and his mother was a Rengen Jie. It was from her that he heard this tradition.
- 2 Nakade (Peter), J-57. Although many Jie traditions state that these "Ngikatapa" arrived at Koten as refugees from famine, other versions claim that they came to the east because of dissension caused by the unequal division of the liver of a hartebeeste or kongoni at a feast in their eastern Acholi homeland. Webster has recorded a very similar version among the Acoli at Adilang in which Agricultural Paraniotes move eastwards to Najie after the unequal division of the heart of a duiker. Other Acholi informants in the same area maintained that the move was in fact caused by a famine. See Webster, "Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit. p.42.



then, that contact between Agricultural Paraniotic famine refugees and the north-western elements of the Koten-Magos group was established. The north-western sub-division of the Koten-Magos, obviously concerned about the mounting ecological pressures and internecine feuds which were besetting their group, seem to have welcomed the report of the "Ngikatapa" refugees concerning the good hunting grounds to the west, and the two peoples banded together for a large hunting expedition into those western lands:

So the people at Koten decided to go to the west with the Ekatapit to hunt those animals. They killed many of the wild animals, and then they captured the bull (engi) which was also there, some grabbing its head and others its tail. The people saw that that place was good. They found hills of edible termites, and some men claimed them as their own. Other men claimed certain areas for their gardens, and others claimed good places on which to build houses in case they should come there again. After that they tied the bull with a rope and returned to Koten....When they returned to Koten, they found that quarrels were still going on, and so they decided to move permanently to the good place which the Ekatapit had shown them in the west. It was thus that the Jie came to live in this place, Najie.<sup>1</sup>

The Koten-Magos and Agricultural Paraniotic settlers established themselves at the place called Daidai on the west bank of the Longiro River in what was to become Kotiang territorial division (see Map 6). According to their traditions, these place-names came about as a result of that first hunting expedition:

There were many more wild animals here in Najie in those days than there are now, and so hunting was more important. The people settled at Daidai,

1 Nakade (Peter), J-118, and (with others), J-16.

3 Nakade (Peter), J-57. A very similar tale relating to the first contacts between the natives and various white people was told to me on many occasions when I was living in the coastal district of Tanzania in 1960-61.

which was so named because it was there that they beat out (akidaidai) the leather thongs used for snares. The whole area to the west was called Kotiang ("place of the wild animals") because there were a great many wild animals there.<sup>1</sup>

At first this river was not called Longiro - it had no name. It was named after the light-grey bull (engi) which the people found grazing there with the wild animals.<sup>2</sup>

The advent of the Kote-Magos and Agricultural Paraniotic strangers from the east seems to have had a profound effect on the previous inhabitants of Najie. The first Ngikuliak bands were encountered as the newcomers pushed westwards through the eastern parts of Najie. According to some Jie traditions the Ngikuliak were terrified by the appearance of the strangers:

They were afraid when they saw the cattle of the Jie for they had not seen cattle before. Some ran and hid in holes in the ground. If the Jie saw them hiding in a hole they would put the butts of their spears down the holes and lean on their spears, gazing off into the distance, as though they didn't know the Ngikuliak were there. The Ngikuliak, with spear butts pressing into their backs, would cry, "Oh, Oh!" And the Jie would pretend to be surprised and say, "Ah! So you are there? Come out!"<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Ecak (Timothy) J-5.
- 2 Lobalong (Joseph) and Kere, J-12. The place-name derivations recorded in these traditions seem generally more reasonable than is often the case in "traditions relating to general history" (see, for example, p. 161, Ch. III above). In any case they do seem to reinforce the traditions that the new settlers first developed an interest in Najie as a fresh hunting ground. The derivation of "Longiro", however, would seem more questionable. The root "-iro" is also to be found in the name of the Central Paraniotic-speaking "Dongiro" of the southern Sudan, and the early name of the emerging Jie was "Ngiro", as will be discussed below.
- 3 Nakade (Peter) J-57. A very similar tale relating to the first contacts between the Maasai and various Okiek bands was told to me on many occasions when I was living in the Maasai District of Tanzania in 1966-67.



Possibly, because of such treatment, few of the Ngikuliak seem to have joined with the strangers at this time. Most fled to the relative fastness of their hills, especially Maru, and others appear to have abandoned Najie entirely, fleeing to the Acholi border-land to the west.<sup>1</sup> One of their songs laments:

Loceno! Eee, eee! Apena ion dang noboko.

(Loceno (a person's name)! Eee, eee. Let us now go to the turtles.)

Ament ngidwee Angilok ngakecelepon.

(The children of Angilok have brought the milking animals.)<sup>2</sup>

The largest of the Agricultural Paranilotic groups which were also previous inhabitants of Najie, the Loser and the closely related Loposa, reacted to the appearance of the strangers in much the same way as the Ngikuliak. As previously noted, these groups did not seem to have been as badly affected by the "Nyamdere" as Agricultural Paranilotic and Lwo groups further west, and they seem to have had little contact with the "Ngikatapa" famine refugees who so rapidly passed through central Karamoja on their march towards Koten. However, with the return of those refugees in company with elements of the Koten-Magos group, seemingly bent on permanent settlement in Najie, most of the Loser and Loposa seem to have

1 The appearance of Ngikuliak bands in eastern Acholi may be recalled in Acoli traditions which describe a people called "Abunga" arriving in Potongo from Najie. Although they had some goats, it seems that they were primarily a hunting and gathering group. See Webster, "Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit., p.16.

2 Kere, Meron and others, J-64. Turtles were eaten only in times of great hardship. "Going to the turtles", therefore, would be roughly equivalent to the English "going to the dogs", e.g. giving up hope entirely. It is interesting to note that a Lwo term for Paranilotic-speaking peoples (olok) appears to have been used by the Ngikuliak.

taken fright and moved off to the west:

The Ngiseera (Loser) used to live here in Kotido. They dug the water-holes at Nakere and Lomuth. They were mainly cultivators, although they may have had a few cattle as well. They spoke akibinibini (Lwo). When they saw the Jie coming from the east, they were afraid and said, "These people will fight us. Let us go to the west!" The Jie didn't fight those people, but the Ngiseera went away to the west as the Jie came from the east. Most of them went away, and only those who formed the Loser clan of Kotido remained behind.<sup>1</sup>

As will be discussed more fully below, most of the Loser and Loposa followed a route to the west which eventually brought them to Mt. Otukei and the eastern frontiers of Lango and Teso. The descendants of those who remained behind in Najie still remember their emigrant kinsmen in a kind of pageant performed on ceremonial occasions. They place their chattels on their heads, load their donkeys, and form a line facing towards the west and Mt. Otukei, all as though they were preparing to migrate. They sing:

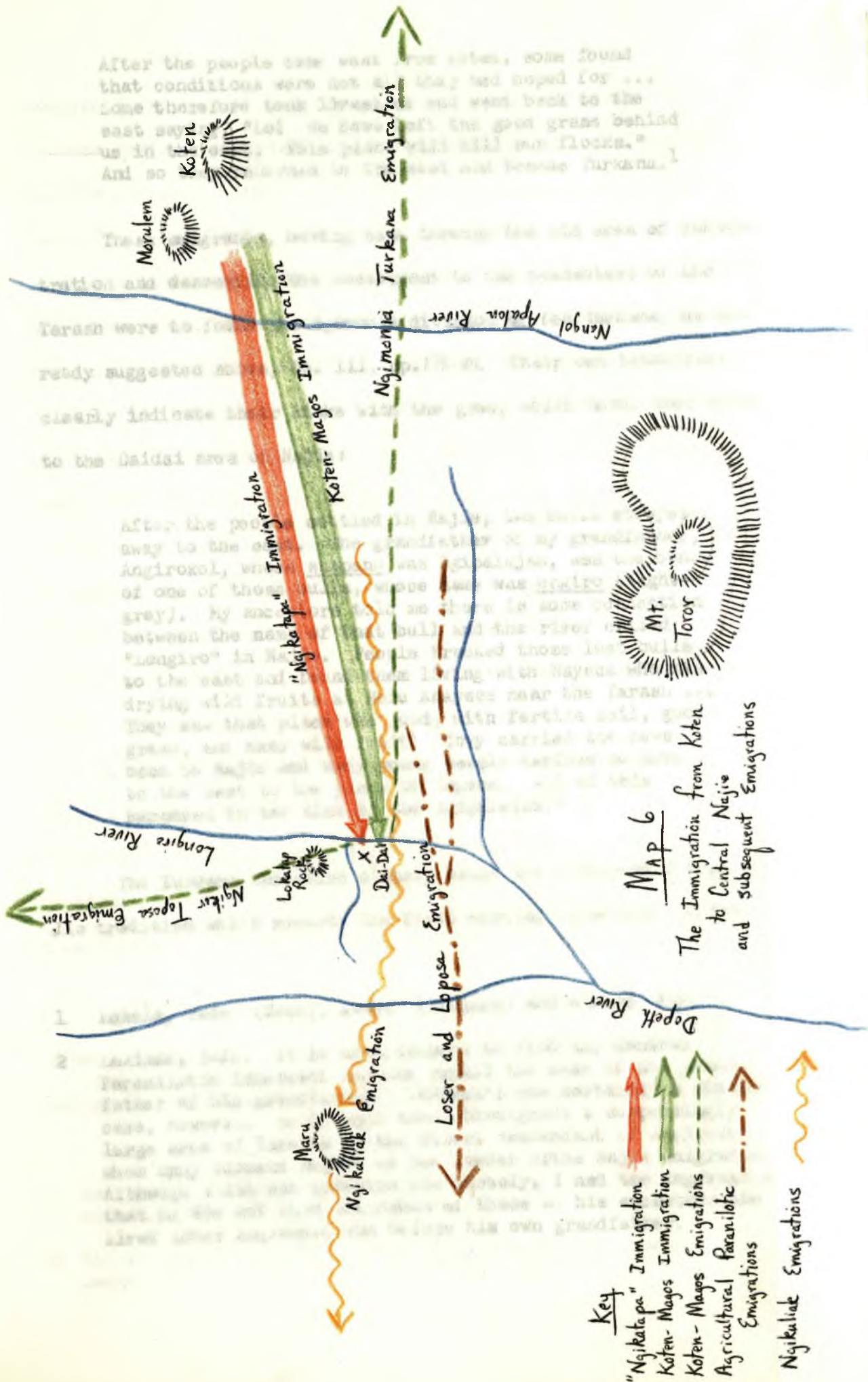
Apena atowoto, elwana Serer. Let's move, Serer (Lango) is far away.  
 Apena atowoto, elwana Kumam. Let's move, Kumam (Teso) is far away.  
 Elwana Serer, elwana Kumam. Serer is far away, Kumam is far away.  
 Apena atowoto, elwana Serer e! Let's move, Serer is far away, indeed.<sup>2</sup>

The departures of the Loser and Loposa were closely followed by the emigrations out of Najie by considerable segments of the Koton-Magos group of new settlers. Hardly had the newcomers established themselves at Daidai when one segment of the Koton-Magos group, apparently disappointed in the new area, turned around and retraced their steps to the east:

1 Mabuc (Loputuka), J-70 and J-85. A very similar tradition to this seems to have been collected by the Gullivers (1953, op.cit. p.10).

2 Adome, J-62.





After the people came west from Koten, some found that conditions were not all they had hoped for ... Some therefore took livestock and went back to the east saying, "Lo! We have left the good grass behind us in the east. This place will kill our flocks." And so they returned to the east and became Turkana.<sup>1</sup>

These emigrants, moving back through the old area of concentration and descending the escarpment to the headwaters of the Tarash were to found the Ngimonia division of the Turkana, as already suggested above, Ch. III, pp. 178-84. Their own traditions clearly indicate their links with the group which moved from Koten to the Daidai area of Najie:

After the people settled in Najie, two bulls strayed away to the east. The grandfather of my grandfather, Angirokol, whose asapanu was Ngipalajam, was the owner of one of those bulls, whose name was engiro (light-grey). My ancestors told me there is some connection between the name of that bull and the river called "Longiro" in Najie. People tracked those lost bulls to the east and found them living with Nayece who was drying wild fruits at Moru Anayece near the Tarash ... They saw that place was good, with fertile soil, good grass, and many wild fruit. They carried the news back to Najie and many young people decided to move to the east to the place of Nayece. All of this happened in the time of the Ngipalajam.<sup>2</sup>

The Turkana tradition clearly takes its inspiration from the Jie tradition which records the first hunting expedition to the

1 Lokala, Tede (Teko), Looru (Sampson) and others, J-9.

2 Lokimak, T-14. It is most unusual to find any Central Paraniotic informant who can recall the name of the grandfather of his grandfather. Lokimak's was certainly a special case, however. He is well known throughout a surprisingly large area of Turkana as the direct descendant of Angirokol, whom many Turkana regard as the leader of the Najie emigrants. Although I did not question him closely, I had the impression that he did not know the names of those of his ancestors who lived after Angirokol and before his own grandfather.

3 Haden, 22, 23, p. 175. Some of my Turkana informants mentioned an informant whose vaguely like "adutan".



Longiro River area of Najie (see above) and even the name of the Turkana leader "Angirokol" sounds suspiciously like the name of the Jie leader, "Orwakol", who will be discussed at some length below.<sup>1</sup> As in this tradition, the most reliable Turkana informants were in agreement that the immigrants from Najie arrived on the Tarash while the Ngipalajam were still initiating. This was further supported by traditions collected by McKean in the 1930's, in which the immigrants were remembered to have been of the "Emisse, Edutan and Nyepalajam ages",<sup>2</sup> and a few of my own informants also mentioned that members of the Ngimis or Ngimiik asapanu were among the Najie immigrants. Although as has already been argued, Ngimis or Ngimiik most probably represents the whole epoch which preceded Ngipalajam, it can be suggested that in mentioning "Ngimis" or "Emisse", the Turkana traditions were recalling that a considerable number of men initiated into the generation-set (or sets) earlier than Ngipalajam were included in the emigration from Najie. This would indicate, therefore, that the Ngimonia migration from Najie to Tarash took place well before the final stages of the Ngipalajam initiations, and it would probably not be far wrong to estimate that that migration took place no later than about 1740.

Soon after the departure of the Ngimonia Turkana to the east, other Koton-Magos elements departed to the north. Some of these emigrants ultimately seem to have formed important segments of the

1 Both names are derived from okol which describes cattle with certain black and white spotted markings.

2 McKean, op.cit., p.1757. None of my Turkana informants ever mentioned an asapanu even vaguely like "Edutan".



Dongiro and (Sudan) Jiye, but perhaps the majority of them were part of the group which was to form the Ngikor division of the Toposa.<sup>1</sup> These emigrants appear to have gone north from Daidai via the territory now inhabited by the Rengen moiety of the Jie (see Map 6), primarily in search of additional grazing land:

- 1 As there is a marked tendency for many Jie to refer to all the Central Paraniotic societies now resident in the southern Sudan simply as "Toposa", it is sometimes difficult to be entirely certain of the exact group to which some traditions refer. For example, a Jie tradition (recorded in J-9 and J-24) which speaks of "Toposa" inhabiting the Lolim River area of Turkana before being driven on to the north, is in fact referring to a major branch of the Dongiro who, from an abundance of Turkana tradition, were the people who passed through parts of Turkana on their way north.

It is also difficult to be sure which traditions relate to the origin of the Sudan Jiye, as many other Jie informants tended to refer to all the Central Paraniotes in the Sudan as "Jiye". Nevertheless, both a Jie tradition (recorded in J-31) and a Dodos tradition (D-7) agreed that the Jiye were originally a group of traders in iron and other commodities who went north to trade with the Toposa and never returned. As the Uganda Jie do not appear to have been known by the name "Ngijie" until the nineteenth century, it can be suggested that the Jiye move to the north was considerably later than the Toposa.

Yet another difficult problem is the relationship between the Toposa and the earlier Agricultural Paraniotic inhabitants of Najie, the Loposa. Apart from the obvious similarity in the names, many of Webster's Acoli informants, clearly descended from Agricultural groups, claim to have originally come from the "Toposa", and a Loposa Jie informant (J-94) stated that the Toposa were in fact an off-shoot of his group. However, this conflicts with the great mass of Jie oral tradition which indicates that the Toposa were composed of Koten-Magos, rather than Agricultural Paraniotic elements, and that the Loposa all moved off to the west with the Loser when the new settlers arrived in Najie from Koten. Complicating the issue even more are indications in some traditions of a possible link between the emigrant Toposa and the "Ngikatapa" group of Agricultural Paraniotes from the Acholi border-land (see p. 266 below).



The Ngikor went north from Najie to Loyoro (in Dodos) where they settled for some time before continuing on to their present homeland in the Sudan. As recently as the Ngimugeto initiations (1920's), a large group of them came here to Najie to observe our initiations and to learn more about our customs. This shows that they were originally Jie.<sup>1</sup>

As this tradition recalls, most of the northern emigrants at first established themselves in the Loyoro area (which was ultimately to be occupied by the Dodos), a scant 25 miles north of Daidai in central Najie. Unlike any of the other emigrant groups, all of whom seem to have largely severed their contacts with Najie when they moved away, these northern emigrants at

- 1 Ecak (Timothy), J-48 and J-126. There is absolutely no connection between these Ngikor Toposa and the Southern Paraniotic-speaking Samburu, whom the Turkana and Jie also call "Ngikor". A common Jie saying, Elalak etia Ngikor, "as numerous as the Ngikor", may have been originally applied to these Ngikor Toposa, who, according to some traditions were indeed very numerous. However, some Jie informants stated that this was a Turkana saying, originally applied to the Samburu, which was simply borrowed by the Jie. In my opinion, however, this must be considered rather unlikely.

Ecak and several other informants mentioned "other Toposa" already living in the north before the Ngikor broke from the Jie. A number of non-Jie informants (including those of BK-2, BK-4, D-1 and L-10) stated that when the Koton-Magos group began its original journey southwards from the Sudan to the Koton-Magos area, some elements of the group remained behind in the south-eastern Sudan. It would seem entirely possible that this did happen, but the matter is not really clear from Jie oral tradition. Undoubtedly, the matter could easily be settled by interviewing the Central Paraniotic peoples who now inhabit the southern Sudan, but of course this is clearly impossible at present.

- 2 Lonyangalen (and others), J-55. During parts of the dry season when Najie is surrounded in fact, it is threatening for the inhabitants of Najie to watch great black rain clouds gathering over the Aouil and Lonyangalen hills, hardly at all away.

Loyoro remained in close contact with the Daidai settlers, and were probably rather more a northern vanguard of those settlers than a separate community.

Some traditions do make vague mention of a cattle disease and/or a famine at roughly the same time that the initial settlement at Daidai and the subsequent emigrations out of Najie were going on. The picture generally conveyed, however, is not one of any great disaster, but rather of shifts in population which were undertaken to avoid any excessive concentration of people in a confined area. For their part, the Agricultural Paraniotic Loser and Loposa were probably beginning to realize that the central Najie area was only marginally suited for their intensive agricultural/specialization,<sup>1</sup> and the rather dramatic appearance of the strangers from the east was the catalytic event which set them in motion towards the more fertile lands they had reason to suspect existed to the west:

Our ancestors, the Loposa, and their brothers, the Loser, were clever in the ways of cultivation. They had seen the rain passing to the west, even as it does now, and they realized there must be a fertile country there.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 At the Loser and other Agricultural Paraniotic habitation sites in the Najie, profusions of deep-basin grinding stones and the remains of stone granary supports attest to the intensive agriculture engaged in by these groups. See Appendix 5, "Notes on Some Archaeological Sites in Northern and Central Karamoja".
- 2 Lonyakangan (and others), J-65. During parts of the dry season, when Najie is enshrouded in dust, it is tantalizing for the inhabitants of Najie to watch great black rain clouds gathering over the Acoli and Labwor Hills, hardly 45 miles away.



a man of the Yoro'i clan, while for the "Ngikatapa" (or Rangan  
 The Koton-Magos settlers, the unfortunate internecine quarrels  
 as they soon became known), he was being (occasionally pronounced  
 experienced in their previous area still fresh in their minds, must  
 have been equally anxious to avoid any great demographic build-ups  
 which might bring about the same severe ecological pressures which  
 had beset them in the Koton-Magos area. Emigrations into surround-  
 ing areas were therefore inevitable. Several Jie traditions indi-  
 cate that these emigrations dramatically reduced the population of  
 Najie, which, at the point of arrival of the new settlers from Koton,  
 must for a short time have been very large indeed:

among societies belonging to the Northern, Central and Southern  
 I was told that at that time, the population of  
 Najie was very much larger even than it is now.  
 For a time every part of Najie was occupied and  
 no place was empty. Then the Turkana, Toposa and  
 all the other groups left the Jie and the population  
 suddenly became much smaller.<sup>1</sup>

Central Parakollotic Toposa, Jie and the Lomamo section of the  
 The emigrations from Najie left behind two compact groups of  
 settlers at Daidai: a remnant core of the Koton-Magos elements;  
 and the "Ngikatapa" famine refugees who had temporarily banded with  
 them for the initial stages of the occupation of Central Najie.  
 At the time of its settlement at Daidai, each of these groups had  
 its own leader who owed his position of leadership to his heredi-  
 tary office of ekeworon (pl. ngikeworok), "ritual Fire-Maker".

The ekeworon of the Koton-Magos settlers at Daidai was called Orwakol,

1 Looru (Sampson) J-120.

2 See Sullivan, *op. cit.* pp. 120-1.

3 Spencer, P., *The Turkana*, London 1965; *Journal* (1965) 10: 111.

a man of the Toroi clan, while for the "Ngikatapa" (or Rengen as they soon became known), he was Oding (occasionally pronounced Odiny or Loding) of the Ratai clan.

The office of ekeworon and the ritual of New Fire generally have been paid very little attention by previous observers of Central Paraniotic societies.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, it would seem possible to argue that a New Fire ritual must have been a cultural feature of even the primordial Paraniotic-speaking community, for at least some vestige of such a ritual is still discernable among societies belonging to the Northern, Central and Southern linguistic sub-divisions which evolved from that primordial community. From the data which are available, the ritual seems strongest amongst the Northern Paraniotic Lotuko<sup>2</sup> and the Central Paraniotic Toposa, Jie and the Lokaato section of the Dodos, and perhaps vaguest amongst the Southern Paraniotic Samburu and Pastoral Maasai, where only a faint recollection of the ngikeworok and their New Fire rituals have been retained in the persons of the "Fire-stick Elders", so important in the Southern Paraniotic age-class systems, as described by Spencer and Jacobs.<sup>3</sup>

1 The Gullivers (1953, op.cit. p.50), for example, devote only a few lines to the office, and Dyson-Hudson (1966, op.cit.), while making several rather vague mentions of a Karimojong New Fire ritual, virtually ignores the ngikeworok themselves. Only slightly more attention was paid to the Toposa ngikework by Beaton (in Nalder, op.cit., p.69).

2 See Seligman, op.cit., pp.323-4.

3 Spencer, P., The Samburu, London 1965; Jacobs (1965) op.cit.



Among the Jie and the other societies in which the ngikeworok and their New Fire ritual is most important, the ritual entails the extinguishing of all the old fires of the community and scattering the ashes to the wind. This is followed by the ceremonial re-kindling of a New Fire by the ekeworon and his ritual assistants with sacred fire-sticks, and the re-lighting of all the fires of the land with brands from the ekeworon's New Fire. In general, the ritual is performed in times of great stress (famine, war, disease), and also in conjunction with the inauguration of a new generation-set.

It is very likely that the ngikeworok of the Koton-Magos group at the time of its dispersal were primarily religious functionaries, undoubtedly accorded considerable respect, but commanding little or no obedience in even the vaguest political sense. Such a picture would certainly be consistent with the office as it now exists among the Karimojong and the Lomeris section of the Dodos - those societies, it must be noted, in which the Koton-Magos elements experienced relatively little close interaction with Agricultural Paranilotic or Lwo communities.

Orwakol, therefore, was probably rather unique for his time in being considered by the Koton-Magos elements of the proto-Jie settlers at Daidai as in any sense their "leader". The historical figure of Orwakol is now partly enshrouded by legend in Jie oral tradition, but he must have been a man of exceptional personal qualities, and a man who would have been regarded as an "outstanding

individual" even without the benefit of his hereditary ritual office. Some informants went so far as to describe Orwakol as "the first man", while others credited him with the invention of the asapanu system and, upon "instruction from God", the New Fire ritual.<sup>1</sup> More credibly, other informants claimed that Orwakol had been responsible for the establishment of several important ritual centres in the immediate vicinity of Daidai (still of great importance as foci for the politico-religious unity of one of the Jie moieties), the discovery of the pit of sacred clay (still used for smearing on important ritual occasions), and with the introduction of the ekori ceremony, a kind of annual harvest festival which seems peculiar to the Jie among the Central Parani-  
lotes.<sup>2</sup> As a symbol of office and probably as a focal point for some ritual activity, Orwakol and his Toroi kinsmen are remembered to have brought with them from Koten a wedge-shaped stone, about three feet in length, which they set up in the kraal of Orwakol's homestead near Baidai.<sup>3</sup> Orwakol's homestead and the immediately

1 Jie interviews including J-1, J-17, J-39.

2 Jie interviews including J-7, J-41, J-74.

3 Lobilatum, J-51. Stones similar to this can be seen erected in the kraals of almost all important Jie functionaries: fire-makers, assistant fire-makers, asapanu leaders and so on. They closely resemble the flat stones of the circles, which were presumably supports for granaries, at most Agricultural Paraniotic habitation sites, but there is nothing in the oral traditions which suggests any link. Jie informants tended to be rather vague in their explanations of the purpose of these sacred stones, most describing them as "a kind of shrine", or "like a church", or "a place for prayers".

Similar stones also appear in the traditions of non-Jie societies. For example, Beaton, in Nalder, *op.cit.*, p.66, mentions that when they went north from Karamoja, the Toposa carried such a stone with them, setting it up at Loyoro, the ritual centre of their present homeland. In the same way, Labwor informants (L-9) recall that when some of the Agricultural Paraniotic famine refugees returned to the west after being driven to Koten, they brought with them a "stone about the length of a man's arm".



surrounding area was given the name Lokorwakol, "Orwakol's place", and the Koton-Magos settlers who regarded Orwakol as their leader lived clustered around Lokorwakol, west of the Longiro River, in Kotiang, considered by the Jie as their original territorial division. It seems clear that Orwakol successfully made himself and his office the focal point for the earliest feelings of their unique and independent identity by his group of followers. As a lasting tribute to him, Kotiang is still said to "give strength to the Jie because it was there that Orwakol had his home,"<sup>1</sup> and the descendants of his Koton-Magos followers, who were to form the core of one of the Jie political moieties, still call themselves Ngikorwakol, "Orwakol's people".<sup>2</sup>

As mentioned above, the Agricultural Paraniotic famine refugees, the "Ngikatapa" or Rengen, who had temporarily joined with Orwakol and his people in the initial occupation of Central Najie, also had their own ekeworon, Oding, who was most probably the son of Opio, the man who had led the "Ngikatapa" from the Acholi border-land to Koton.<sup>3</sup> Rather less about Oding has been retained in the oral traditions of the descendants of his band of followers, who were to form the core of the Rengen moiety of the Jie. Like Orwakol, however,

1 Akurameri (and others), J-7.

2 By extension, the whole of the area now occupied by the Ngikorwakol is now sometimes called Lokorwakol, "Orwakol's place", although, as noted in the text, Lokorwakol is usually reserved as the name for that part of Kotiang division in which Orwakol had his homestead.

3 From the Rengen oral traditions I collected, it is not possible to be entirely certain of the relationship between the two men.

Oding appears to have been highly revered by his people, and is still regarded by the Rengen as their "great ancestor" (founder). As with the descendants of Orwakol's Koten-Magos followers, the Rengen still refer to themselves as Ngikaloding, "Oding's people."<sup>1</sup>

While I was unable to record any reliable description of the office of the Rengen ekeworon as it existed at the time of Oding, it would seem very likely that the functions of the Agricultural Paranilotic ngikeworok were rather different from those of their Koten-Magos counterparts, and that many more ritual trappings were associated with their office. As these differences will be discussed in a following chapter, it is sufficient for the present to note that in function the Agricultural Paranilotic ngikeworok seem to have had very real judicial powers and that they had under their direct control the annual agricultural cycle of the community. Ritual trappings associated with their office included elaborate burial ceremonies and symbols of office. Such functions and trappings do not appear to have been inherent in the office of the Toroi ngikeworok, and they certainly were not inherent in the office of the ngikeworok of those other societies - Karimojong and Lomeris Dodos - in which

- 1 The most human anecdote retained about Orwakol and Oding in the oral traditions is that both were bald, and some informants spoke of them (rather fondly) as "the bald-headed ones". As baldness is not a common physical feature among the Jie, I was amused to discover that Koroc Lokepon, the hereditary first initiate of the Ngimugeto, who is considered by all the Jie to be a direct agnatic descendant of Orwakol is entirely bald. During an interview (J-73) Koroc patted his head and said, "Can't you see me? All the men of our family become like this after a very short time. It has been so even back to Orwakol himself."



the Koton-Magos element is the strongest. With the Ngikowakol, indeed, in the course of Dodos history, the Lokaato ngikeworok it was only after the office was usurped by a clan of Agricultural Paranilotic origin, the Jimos (see Ch.VI, below), that such functions and trappings appear to have become associated with the office.

On the other hand, although the original ekeworon clan of the Rengen, the Ratai, was later replaced by another, Kalolet (see Ch. VI, below), there is nothing to suggest that the functions

and trappings of office as described above were introduced at the time of the replacement. Rather, it would appear that the new

Rengen ngikeworok inherited the office with all its functions and trappings intact from their predecessors.

The case of the Dodos again strongly supports the supposition that inherent in the office of the Agricultural Paranilotic

ngikeworok were powers and functions not accorded to their Koton-Magos counterparts. The northernmost of the Dodos territorial

sections, Lomeris, was descended mainly from elements of the Koton-Magos concentration, and the Lomeris ngikeworok were apparently

never regarded as more than respected ritual functionaries, without any real leadership role in their community. On the other hand,

the Lokaato section, who occupy the south-western part of the Dodos country, was almost entirely composed of elements descended from the Poot (or Poet) and other closely related Agricultural Paranilotic groups, and their ngikeworok, quite unlike the Lomeris,

possessed real judicial and economic powers and ritual trappings

very similar to those of the Rengen ngikeworok described above.

pp.323-4, where the ritual is described as playing an important part in initiation of young men into warriorhood. See also Sallenger, G.W. and S.S., "The Social Organization of the Lokaato", *ANR*, VIII, 1926, p.3, for a description of the ngok.

Indeed, in the course of Dodos history, the Lokaato ngikeworok were to emerge as the most powerful of Dodos society:

Although each Dodos section has its own ekeworon, it is the ekeworon of the Poot (clan of the Lokaato section) who leads all the others. The Poot ngikeworok led the Dodos in everything. The Poot brought the office of ekeworon with them from the west, and they taught the other Dodos to be proper ngikeworok.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem very likely that the additional powers and trappings attached to the office of ekeworon by Agricultural Paranilotic groups such as the Rengen and Poot were a result of their contacts and interactions with Northern Paranilotic and/or Lwo-speaking groups during their migration southwards into western and central Karamoja (see pp. 171-202, Ch. III, above), contacts which the Koton-Magos branch of the Central Paranilotes, following their more easterly migration route into Karamoja, did not experience.

From existing descriptions, it would appear that among the Northern Paranilotic Lotuko their New Fire ritual plays quite an important role, and the Seligmans have noted that the Lotuko fire-makers were also the rainmakers (kobu), functionaries accorded real political, as well as ritual, powers.<sup>2</sup> At least part of the inspiration for the development of a more important New Fire ritual and more powerful ngikeworok, therefore, may well have been provided the

1 Lokidap (and others) D-10.

2 For a description of the ritual see the Seligmans, op.cit., pp. 323-4, where the ritual is described as playing an important part in initiations of young men into warrior-hood. See also Seligman, C.G. and B.Z., "The Social Organization of the Lotuko", SNR, VIII, 1926, p. 3, for a description of the kobu.



Agricultural Paraniotes through their early contacts with the Lotuko and/or other Northern Paraniotic-speakers. Clearly, however, additional inspiration seems to have been provided by the close interactions which went on between Agricultural Paraniotic and Lwo-speaking groups.

It has already been seen (pp. 199-200, Ch. III, above) that their contacts with the Lwo caused many Agricultural Paraniotic groups either to abandon their original language entirely in favour of Lwo dialects, or to become bilingual. It was further suggested that the influence of the Lwo was not confined solely to the linguistic sphere, but also was extended to the economic and socio-political spheres, as well. Many of the Agricultural Paraniotic groups which came into close contact with the Lwo seem to have been affected by the Lwo concept of the Rwot (pl. Rwodi), which has been translated as "hereditary chief" or "king". Such Agricultural Paraniotic groups as the Rengen Jie and the Lokaato Dodos seem to have been so profoundly influenced by the Lwo concept that some of the functions and rituals accorded to the Rwodi were borrowed by the Agricultural Paraniotes and invested in the persons of their ngikeworok.

1 The Gwelo and Yeko Kodi ceremonies performed by Lwo Rwodi, in which tribute in the form of agricultural produce is brought to them, and by which their control over the annual agricultural cycle is expressed, were obviously borrowed in their entirety by some Agricultural Paraniotic groups and bestowed on their ngikeworok. In the same way, the Jimos, the Agricultural Paraniotic clan which

3 Webster, "Archeological Notes", p. 113. Cliving (1934, p. 116) also mentions a similar object "all in one piece with an iron shaft" as being part of the royal regalia of the gwoi of Fatic.

4 Webster, Ibid., p. 115.

eventually usurped the ekeworon-ship of the Ngikorwakol Jie from the Toroi clan, also seems to have borrowed from the Lwo the Goyo Bal Gang Pa Rwot, a rain-making ceremony performed by the rwodi.<sup>1</sup> The judicial powers accorded by the Agricultural Paraniotes to their ngikeworok were also probably inspired by similar powers accorded to the Rwodi by the Lwo, although, as Webster has shown, in the case of many eastern Acholi kingdoms, these powers were increasingly shared by the Rwodi with their Lukwena and later their Twon Lok advisory councils.<sup>2</sup> Most of the ritual trappings associated with the Agricultural Paraniotic ngikeworok also seem to have been derived from Lwo sources. The symbol of office of the Rengen Jie ngikeworok, for example, is a sacred spear (called simply akwara, "the spear") made entirely of iron, without the wooden shaft like other Jie spears. A number of eastern Acholi kingdoms have exactly such a spear among the royal regalia of their Rwodi, the spear of the Ajali kingdom which "has no name, nor handle"<sup>3</sup> being a prime example. Finally, the burial ritual for deceased Rwodi, which entails dressing the corpse with certain ornaments and the killing of a black bull,<sup>4</sup> seems to have an almost

1 These ceremonies, as performed by the Jie ngikeworok, will be fully described in Ch.VI below. The Lwo ceremonies were described by Professor Webster in personal communication, and in his "Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit., pp.83-4. Similar ceremonies in which tribute is accorded the Rwodi are also described by Girling, op.cit., pp.96-7. It should be further noted, however, that the Seligmans (1932, op.cit., p.248) also mention a similar sort of tribute in agricultural produce being given by the Bari to their rain-makers.

2 Webster, "State Formation and the Development of Political Institutions in Eastern Acholi", op.cit., pp.4-5.

3 Webster, "Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit., p.148. Girling (op.cit., p.116) also mentions a similar spear "all in one piece with an iron shaft" as being part of the royal regalia of the Rwodi of Patiko.

4 Webster, Ibid., p.115.



exact parallel in the internment rituals performed for the Rengen and Jimos ngikeworok.<sup>1</sup>

While there does not seem to be any specific recollection in Jie oral tradition that ngikeworok of the Agricultural Paranilotic groups were thus influenced by their inter-actions with Northern Paranilotic - and/or Lwo-speaking peoples, informants frequently

- 1 One would expect that other Agricultural Paranilotic groups who provided important elements for such societies as the Iteso, Itesiyo and Langi would also have been influenced in a similar way through their contacts with Lwo and/or Agricultural Paranilotes. In all fairness, however, it must be noted that to the best of my knowledge no observer of any of these societies has even mentioned the office of ekeworon or the New Fire ritual. In my view, it would seem inconceivable that the office and ritual did not at one time exist in these societies. I am forced to conclude that these observers (like those of other Central Paranilotic societies mentioned in the text above) simply were not aware of the importance of the ritual to many other Paranilotic societies, and consequently did not attempt to collect any information regarding the ritual or its functionaries. It must be admitted, however, that I find it most surprising that the ngikeworok apparently did not play any important role in the histories of the Langi or the Iteso, as is indicated by the work of Tosh and Webster, respectively.

Two other societies in Karamoja in which there is a strong Agricultural Paranilotic element, the Labwor and the Nyakwai, definitely had the New Fire ritual. The Labwor ritual was conducted during an annual harvest ceremony, the Coko-jok ("gathering of the Jok"), and was described by the Labwor in this way: "All the old fires are extinguished and the ashes thrown to the west. The skins were taken out of the houses and beaten. Then New Fire was made and taken out to all parts of Labwor" (Oceng and Ogwang, L-7). Although each Labwor division seems to have had its own ekeworon, the chief fire-maker seems to have come from the Jo-kakuku clan. The Nyakwai ritual, performed by their Kajimo ngikeworok, was described in this way: "New Fire could be made as a preparation for war or at the time of a serious disease. All the old fires would be extinguished and all the people would go to Angalat mountain where the Kajimo would make New Fire, and all the old fires would be re-lit" (Adiaka, and Cesere Adiako, NY-2).



expressed the belief that the Agricultural Paranilotes were influenced in a general way by others during their residence in the west:

own outstanding personal qualities, they will have been exposed to

In the west, the Ngikatapa borrowed the customs of other people, and came with those customs to Najie.

It happened like this: Suppose a man comes to Najie from the west with seeds he has borrowed there.

Suppose he digs his garden and plants those seeds while the person in the neighbouring garden plants his usual seeds, those of Najie. And lo! The person who has borrowed the new seeds finds that his garden had yielded well. Is he not well pleased? Will he not say, "These seeds have suited me well!"? Will he not continue to use the seeds he has borrowed? It was thus with the Ngikatapa.<sup>1</sup>

implied at least some degree of assimilation of one group by the other

was unwo Other traditions specially name the Lwo-speaking Acoli as

the people who so influenced the 'Ngikatapa' in the west:

manities, in a manner which, significantly, is described in the oral

Oding and his people, the Rengen, came here from the Acoli. The Rengen are different than the other Jie.

Their customs are different - they are the customs of the Acoli.<sup>2</sup>

(although the Acoli were the Ngikatapa's point of view)

describes the evidence in a more or less typical way

It would therefore seem entirely reasonable to suppose that by that time of the initial occupation of central Najie, the Rengen contacts with Lwo-speaking (and perhaps to a lesser extent, with Northern Paranilotic-speaking) peoples, experienced during their period of settlement in the Acholi-Karamoja border-land, had

1 Amuk (Akitibuin), J-89.

2 Anunu and Chope, J-28. One area into which Lwo influence apparently did not extend was that of religion, as none of the Agricultural Paranilotic peoples who became part of the Jie appear to have possessed any notion of the Jok. It is noteworthy that some Agricultural Paranilotes differed from the Koton-Magos peoples in their belief of a diety called edeke (literally, "disease"), rather than Akui, the diety of the Koton-Magos group. There is absolutely nothing to suggest that the belief in edeke was derived from any exterior source, however. of which will be discussed in the following chapters.



already added new dimensions to the pre-existing office of ekeworon. It can be suggested that a position of leadership similar to (if not greater than) that which Orwakol must have won largely through his own outstanding personal qualities, may well have been accorded to Oding simply as his hereditary right.

Be this as it may, it is clear that both Orwakol and Oding were strong and much revered leaders, and that their groups of followers, each with its own distinctly different economic and cultural background, soon realized that any very close political union (which would have implied at least some degree of assimilation of one group by the other) was unworkable.<sup>1</sup> Not long after their arrival at Daidai, the two groups therefore drew apart to form their own largely autonomous communities, in a manner which, significantly, is described in the oral traditions in terms of the ngikeworok. The following tradition (although somewhat biased towards the Ngikorwakol point of view) describes the separation in a more or less typical way:

At Daidai both Orwakol and Oding set about to make New Fire. Orwakol's fire was kindled first, and so Oding came to him and said, "It is foolish for us both to try to make New Fire here in the same place." And so Orwakol gave him a brand of his fire, and Oding took his people and went to Lokatap Rock in Rengen, and settled there. And so

- 1 While it is impossible to be certain, the general impression given by the oral traditions is that the two groups were of roughly the same numerical size when they established themselves at Daidai. The present numerical superiority of the Ngikorwakol (see p. 54, Ch. II above) could be easily accounted for by the facts that the Ngikorwakol were to assimilate greater numbers of aliens than the Rengen, that an entire Rengen division was to be destroyed in a war, and that a major segment of the Rengen population (the Kadokini) emigrated to a Ngikorwakol territorial division, all of which will be discussed in the following chapters.

point of there came to be two 'homesteads' of the Jie: Orwakol's, which was here in Lokorwakol; and as Daidai Oding's which was there in Rengen.<sup>1</sup>

Other Ngikorwakol and Rengen traditions state that the separation was caused because the two ngikeworok "grew jealous of each other",<sup>2</sup> but there was universal agreement that it was Oding and his people who moved away from the Ngikorwakol, still clustered near Daidai. Most of the Rengen settlements were established in what became Kadwoma territorial division, but, as the above tradition indicates, Lokatap Rock (the same place recalled in the traditions as a stopping place for the "Ngikatapa" famine refugees on their migration to the east) became the focal

- 1 Mabuc (Loputaka), J-70. Some Ngikorwakol informants expressed their belief that even now the Rengen ngikeworok are unable to kindle their New Fire until the Ngikorwakol have kindled theirs.

The Jie tradition quoted here is in some ways strikingly similar to one recorded by Crazzolaro (1954, op.cit., pp.376-7) in which a New Fire ritual and sacred fire-sticks play an important part in the extension of the rule of the Reeli group of the Padzulu Madi over the neighbouring Kagiri.

- 2 Jie interviews including J-4, J-20, J-31 and J-88. Some informants related a tradition which claimed that Orwakol and Oding were twin brothers. Obviously these traditions contradict the great mass of evidence provided by other traditions, both Ngikorwakol and Rengen, in which the arrival of Oding's group of "Ngikatapa" refugees from the west is related in great detail. As will be discussed in a later chapter, the suggestion that Orwakol and Oding were the closest possible relatives most probably came about as a reflection of the very close co-operation which grew up between the two Jie moieties during the late nineteenth century.

Aringole, J-107. A very large number of hyraxes still inhabit the rock, and although the hyraxes do still hyrax other than those at Lokatap, the ones at the rock are never killed in any way and are, as a result, quite tame. The ngikorwakol have no sacred animals such as the Lokatap hyraxes.

Diviners (ngikeworok) will be discussed in more detail in a following chapter. For the present, it is sufficient to note that the Rengen ngikeworok are considered to be especially gifted by most of the Jie.



point of the area pioneered by the Rengen separatists, very much as Daidai was to remain the focal point for the Ngikorwakol (see Map 7). According to some Rengen traditions, the rock itself (a large granite outcropping which rises up dramatically out of the surrounding flat plain) was consecrated as a ritual centre in a most unusual way:

When the Rengen first arrived at Lokatap Rock, they found no wild creatures living there. But then a diviner (emuron) had a dream, and he instructed the people to go and trap rock hyraxes and bring them to the rock. The people trapped hyraxes and released them at the rock. The emuron told the people not to kill the hyraxes for as long as they should live at Lokatap Rock, so long would the Rengen endure. There is also at Lokatap Rock a very large black snake that has a white feather growing from its head. That snake is really a great person who lived long ago, and some of the elders say it is Oding himself. It visits the new-born babies during the night after their birth and licks them with its tongue to bless them.<sup>1</sup>

The traditions of both Jie moieties agree that the separation between the Ngikorwakol and the Rengen was not, however, absolute:

After the people came from the east, they divided Najie into two parts: Lokorwakol, under the great ancestor Orwakol; and Rengen, under its leader, Oding. The people of both areas took part in the settlement of Najie, but in each area the people had their own customs. It was discovered that New Fire couldn't be made if they sat together, and so they moved apart so that they could make New Fire separately. But you must not suppose that because they moved apart, one group was the Jie and the other group was not. No! We are all - Ngikorwakol and Rengen - thoroughly Jie.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Aringole, J-107. A very large number of hyraxes still inhabit the rock, and although the Rengen do kill hyraxes other than those at Lokatap, the ones at the rock are never harmed in any way and are, as a result, quite tame. The Ngikorwakol have no sacred animals such as the Lokatap hyraxes.

Diviners (ndimurok) will be discussed in more detail in a following chapter. For the present, it is sufficient to note that the Rengen ndimurok are considered to be especially gifted by most of the Jie.

- 2 Lobalong (Joseph) and Kere J-12.

It is difficult to be certain of precisely in what ways the two groups remained linked. It is clear that each group's ritual activity was conducted independently, and it would seem that each was responsible for the dry-season movement of its own livestock. However, both groups appear to have been known to outsiders by a common name, Ngiro (which is probably best translated as "the people of the Longiro River")<sup>1</sup>, and to have shared as their common emblem the honey badger or ratel (ekor).<sup>2</sup> Both groups also used the sacred clay from the pit near Daidai for ritual smearing during the most important ceremonies.

Each group seems to have had certain influences over the other, and the Kote-Magos settlers who were the core of the Ngikorwakol moiety seem to have rapidly learned new skills from the Agricultural Paraniotic Rangen:

The people who went to the west (from Kote) grew only small gardens of sorghum before they moved. But when they arrived there (in Najie) they learned to be good cultivators and they grew large fields of sorghum. They soon learned about other crops, as well.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 According to Herring, op.cit., p.7, the Nyakwai still refer to the Jie as "Ngiro" rather than "Ngijie".
- 2 The emblems of the various Karimojong sections are described in detail by Dyson-Hudson, op.cit., pp.127-30. The emblematic association of the Jie with the honey badger, although similar to the Karimojong emblematic associations, is clearly more of a totemic association than is the case with any of the Karimojong sections. Unlike the Karimojong, both Jie moieties have a strong prohibition against killing their emblematic animal. The killing of a honey badger can be compensated for only by the performance of a major ritual, the Ekor ceremony. Fortunately, this ceremony was performed during my stay in Najie, and a description of it can be found in Appendix 8 at the end of this thesis.
- 3 Pelekec, Akwawi, Eregai and Etele, T-7.



The Two Main Elements of the  
Jie Balanced Economy:



Plate X (above): Herds of Kotido division  
about to be driven to the dry-season  
cattle-camps.

Plate XI (below): A line of women preparing  
a garden at the beginning of the rainy season.





When the people went west to Najie, they had houses like ours (the rough shelters of the Turkana), but when they arrived there in Najie they learned to build the good houses which they now live in.<sup>1</sup>

For their part, the Rengen appear to have been rapidly influenced by the more pastoral outlook of the Koton-Magos Ngikorwakol. Although even their own traditions indicate that they were without cattle when they arrived from the Acholi border-land (see pp. 214-21 above), by the time of their separation from the Ngikorwakol at Daidai the Rengen had clearly acquired livestock, as the traditions of both moieties (such as those recorded in J-14 and J-37) make reference to the movement of Rengen herds and problems of grazing and watering. The Rengen also appear to have adopted the Ngikorwakol asapanu-system, and although their initiations were conducted separately, the Rengen were invariably to copy the names of the Ngikorwakol generation-sets, and even most age-sets.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Lokuu, Meri, Lomanat and Lomoru, T-8. These same informants indicated that the Ngikorwakol Jie learned pottery-making after their settlement in Najie.

Some Jie informants (J-75 and J-128) indicated that the red bags of woven grass (atokot) worn as a headdress by Jie young men were originally introduced by the Agricultural Paraniotes.

It would seem very likely that it was only after their settlement in Najie that the Ngikorwakol began to use iron tools and weapons in any great numbers. This might account for the statements of a few informants that "Orwakol discovered iron". This important subject will be dealt with at length in the following chapter, and so it is only briefly mentioned here.

- 2 It seems virtually impossible to be certain of what sort of age- or generation-class system that Agricultural Paraniotes may have had at the time of their migration into Karamoja from the north-west. Those groups which experienced close contacts with elements of the Koton-Magos concentration universally appear to have adopted their asapanu-systems (as did even some of the Lwo-speaking kingdoms of eastern Acholi). For those Agricultural Paraniotic peoples such as those who formed major sections of the Kuman, Iteso, and Langi, who apparently were less influenced by the Koton-Magos group, I find it difficult to deduce anything very meaningful concerning their time-based class-systems from the confusing descriptions provided by such observers as Lawrance, Wright and Driberg. Without exception, these descriptions were written during the twentieth century when the class-systems of those societies had already been abandoned.



While some kind of at least theoretical co-operation therefore must have existed between the two emerging moieties at the time of their separation at Daidai, and while each group clearly exerted certain influences over the other, soon after their separation each group embarked on a period of territorial expansion during which they occupied areas roughly equivalent to their present areas of permanent settlement:

When the people (Ngikorwakol) came from Koten, Orwakol was their leader, and the leader of ngitalia (customs), and his people were like the people of one homestead. But then the single seed (ekinyo mit) which came from the east was spread all over Najie as the people began to spread from Lokorwakol to all parts of Najie.<sup>1</sup>

As previously mentioned, the emigrations of such groups as the Ngiseera, Ngimonia, Turkana and Ngikor Toposa had greatly reduced the population of central Najie, but the remaining core of Ngikorwakol clustered near Daidai were obviously concerned about the possibility of over-taxing the resources of that region, and therefore decided that expansion was necessary:

The Jie remembered the troubles at Koten caused by the lack of water. They saw that there was only a limited amount of water at Longiro so people decided it was best to settle other areas.<sup>2</sup>

As this tradition indicates, water was the most important dictate of the expansions:

The Jie territorial divisions were established so that all the people could live near sufficient water. Other considerations were not so important. If they wanted fresh hunting grounds, for instance, they could always go out from Najie into the bush to hunt

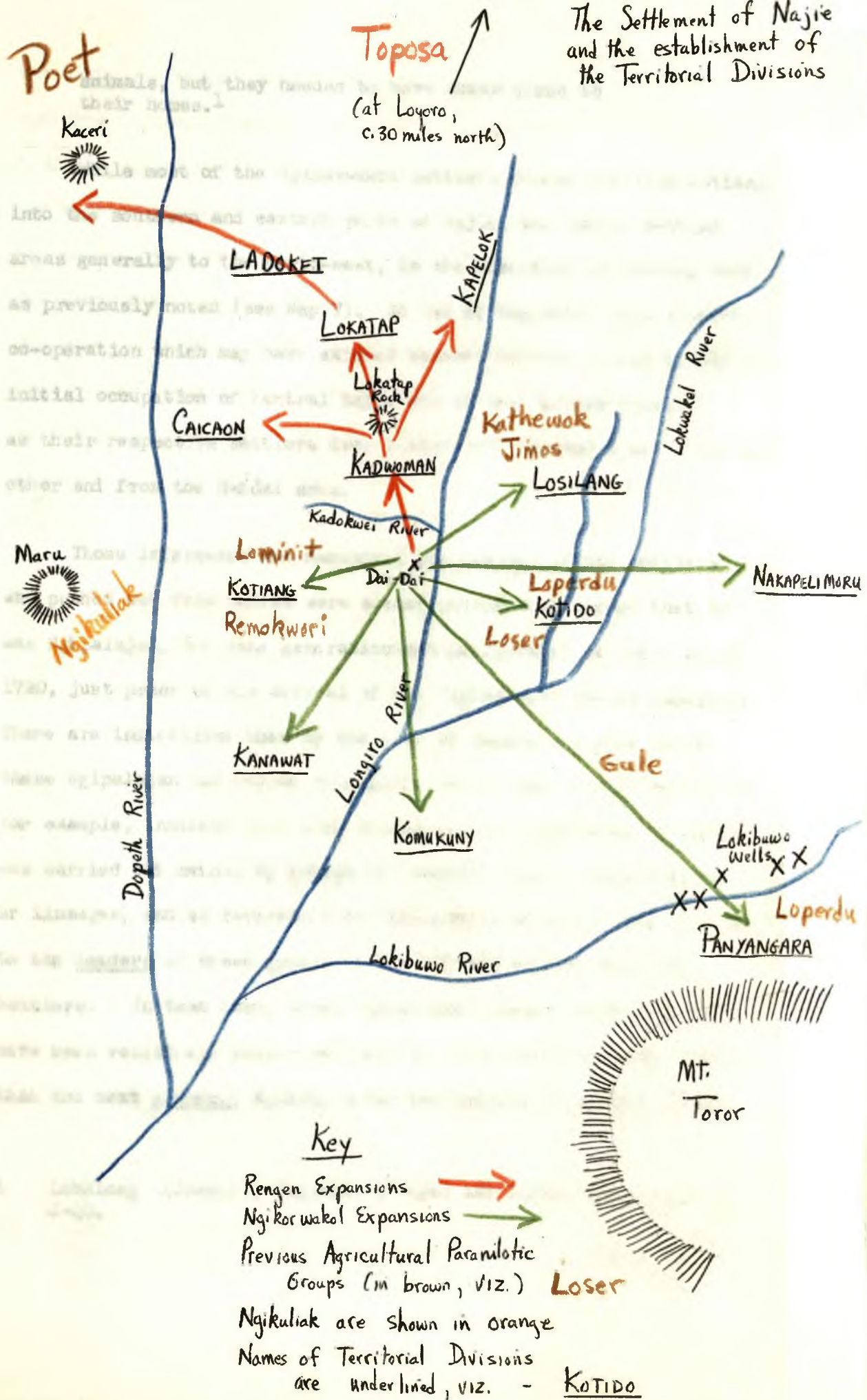
1 Loceny (Natwanga) J-83.

2 Lothike (Elawa), J-131.

## MAP 7

The Settlement of Najie  
and the establishment of  
the Territorial Divisions

MAP 7





animals, but they needed to have water close to their homes.<sup>1</sup>

While most of the Ngikorwakol settlers pushed out from Kotiang into the southern and eastern parts of Najie, the Rengen settled areas generally to the north-west, in the direction of Lokatap Rock, as previously noted (see Map 7). It can be suggested that whatever co-operation which may have existed between the two groups during the initial occupation of central Najie was to some extent dimmed as their respective settlers drew further and further apart from each other and from the Daidai area.

Those informants who mentioned the asapanu of the settlers who pushed out from Daidai were almost universally agreed that it was Ngipalajam, the same generation-set inaugurated at Koten about 1720, just prior to the arrival of the "Ngikatapa" famine refugees. There are indications that by the time of expansions from Daidai these Ngipalajam had become relatively senior men. Many traditions, for example, indicate that this pioneering and settlement of Najie was carried out mainly by groups of kinsmen: small compact clans or lineages, and so references to "Ngipalajam settlers" may well be to the leaders of these groups of agnatically related bands of settlers. In that case, these Ngipalajam leaders would obviously have been relatively senior men, and it would therefore seem likely that the next asapanu, Ngikok, whose initiations began about 1760,

1 Lobalong (Joseph), Logwela (Gonye) and Lodon (Kapelinyong), J-40.

was inaugurated just before the settlers began their migrations out from Daidai. Indeed, some informants specifically indicated that the Ngikok were initiating at least by the time that some of the more outlying Lokorwakol areas were being settled. Other informants spoke of the "sons of Orwakol" as the settlers who moved out from Daidai to form the various territorial divisions.<sup>1</sup> Orwakol, who must have been a senior man even at the time of the migration from Koten to Daidai, must have belonged to the asapanu which preceded Ngipalajam,<sup>2</sup> for it is recalled that Loyale (sometimes pronounced "Loyala" or "Aoyaleng"), his son and successor, was a Ngipalajam initiate. Although there are no traditions specifically describing the death of Orwakol, it would seem very likely that he died just as the settlers began pushing out from Daidai to the other parts of Najie sometime around 1760. Loyale appears to have been invested as the new ekeworon before the Ngikorwakol expansion was properly under way. In order to prove his succession to his father's office, Loyale submitted himself to a ritual test:

After the Ngikatapa (Rengen) had gone to their rock, but when the other people (Ngikorwakol) were still at Daidai, the people met together at Daidai to decide on their new ekeworon, as Orwakol was dead. Loyala, who was my own ancestor, knew that he should be the successor of Orwakol, but there were others who wanted to be the ekeworon, as well. Each of

- 1 In most cases, informants used the term "sons of Orwakol" to mean the whole asapanu which followed that of Orwakol. Two informants, Lodon (Kapelinyong) and Logwela (Gonye) J-3, used the term in a more literal way, stating that "Orwakol's seven sons founded the seven divisions of Lokorwakol."
- 2 Hardly any informants ventured any opinion on the asapanu to which Orwakol himself belonged. A very few rather tentatively suggested "Ngisir", but as noted above "Ngisir" probably refers to a whole epoch, rather than to a specific asapanu.



these people blew air into the vagina of a cow in turn, and when Loyala's turn came, he blew and the cow immediately fell dead. And the people said, "Truly, he is the one to be our ekeworon."<sup>1</sup>

According to the traditions, and to their "rank" in the angola ceremony, the territorial divisions of Lokorwakol were established in the following order: Kotiang (the area of original settlement west of Daidai), Losilang, Kanawat, Komikuny, Kotido, Panyangara, and finally Nakapelimoru. All the divisions appear to have been established within a span of relatively few years, for as already indicated above, all were apparently settled by Ngipalajam clan leaders. This seems to have been true even for those which were the last to be established, as a Panyangara tradition indicates.

My father told me that the Ngimirio and Ngingatunyo (stated by many informants to have been age-sets or age-sections of Ngipalajam) were initiated when the Jie came to Longiro from Koten. When the Panyangara went away from Longiro to Lokibuwo, they were led by those same Ngingatunyo.<sup>2</sup>

In all cases, the Lokorwakol territorial divisions appear to have been settled peacefully, although in the establishment of some divisions, considerable numbers of pre-existing aliens were encountered and assimilated by the Daidai pioneers. The largest pre-existing alien populations were found in Kotido and Losilang

- 1 Koroc (Lokapon), J-103. From additional comments made by Koroc, it would seem likely that the other contestants for the office were all Toroi kinsmen of Loyala.
- 2 Lothike (Mlawa), J-131. It may be that the traditions referring to individuals claiming ant-hills and land during the first hunting expedition to Najie (see the tradition on pp. 223 above) should be taken literally. If this were so, there may well have been a fairly definite conception of the various territorial divisions of Lokorwakol well before they were actually settled.



territorial divisions. In Kotido these aliens were mainly remnants of the Ngiseera group of Agricultural Paraniotes, most of whom had fled to the west with the arrival of the Koton strangers, as already described above (p.226). These remnant Ngiseera were absorbed into Kotido division as the large and important Loser clan. Another alien people of Kotido were the Ngipeerwo, assimilated as the smaller Loperdu clan, who were probably another Agricultural Paraniotic group, but without any tradition of immigration:

Our ancestors said that we Ngipeerwo were the first clan to dwell here in Kotido. Even the Ngiseera, who came here from the direction of Obote's place (ie. Lango), found us here when they came. Our fathers said there is no story of the Peerwo coming from any other area.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps an even larger alien population existed in Losilang. One of the two Losilang sub-divisions, Lojoo ("the place of sleep"), seems to have been entirely descended from this population, dominated by the large and ritually important Jimos clan (of whom a great deal more will be heard later), with a smaller clan, Kathewok. Like the Ngipeerwo of Kotido, these clans often claim that they have no traditions of immigration, but have "always lived in Najie". However, both clans were unquestionably of Agricultural Paraniotic origin,<sup>2</sup> and arrived in Najie from the west, as is indeed

1 Namuya (Ngorok) and Kwenya, J-105.

2 Kathewok is a variation of "Karewok", one of Tarantino's "universal clans" (see pp.171-2 C.III, above). Crazzolaro (1960, op.cit., p.209) suggested that the Jimos were the same clan as the Lwo Jo-Kajimu or Pajimu, and because of the very considerable influence the Lwo had over the Jimos (which will be discussed more fully in a following chapter), I also felt

Footnote continued  
on following page...



indicated by the traditions of other informants of these clans:

the Agricultural Paranilotics into Naramoja from the north-west. It

Our people came here from Tobur (Labwor). We were related to the people there in Tobur, and when our ancestors arrived here in Najie they spoke the language still spoken by the Tobur (a Lwo dialect). Our people arrived here searching for food before the other Jie came here. When they arrived here from Magos and other places, our ancestors began to mix with them and learned their language.<sup>1</sup>

Homesteads are located on a great mound which was directly built up

The Acoli of Adilang (just to the west of the Labwor Hills) also have traditions which refer to this Lojoo group of the Losilang:

Losilang (in Jie) are known as 'Otilang'. They lived here first and then moved to Jie-land. It was a man who left Adilang and went to Jie-land to found that clan.....; he spoke Lwo. He went without quarrelling here. The Otilang and Adilang continued to visit each other up until the present.<sup>2</sup>

locations considerably longer than other Jie villages. Moreover,

Still, as there are no references to specific generation-sets or famines, it is impossible to be certain from either Jie or Acoli traditions exactly when this Lojoo group of Losilang arrived in Najie. While they may well have been earlier inhabitants of Najie, who (like

near Daidai, which again may indicate that the Lojoo group was

1 Ngorok (Ekone - Alokol), J-77.

2 From J. B. Webster's Acholi Historical Text No.63, recorded in "Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit., pp. 28-9. It should be noted however, that there seems to be some confusion among the Adilang Acoli regarding their connection with the Losilang Jie, and some of Webster's informants claimed that it was a group from Losilang which moved west from Najie to establish the Adilang kingdom. This problem will be dealt with more thoroughly in a later chapter.

Footnote continued from previous page:

at first that the Jimos were of Lwo origin. Webster ("Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit., p.190), however, has suggested that in fact the Jimos and the Pajimu were entirely different clans, the former of Agricultural Paranilotic descent, and the latter of Lwo descent. I am now convinced that Webster was correct in this suggestion, and additional information provided by Herring, (op.cit., p.4) gives added support to Webster's argument. According to Herring, the Nyakwai Kajimo clan (to whom the Jimos of Najie claim they are related) seem clearly to have been of Paranilotic origin. He furthermore states that the Kajimo and the "Ikaruwok" were originally inter-connected, which seems very significant in that the two clans which inhabited the Lojoo area of Losilang were the Jimos and the Kathewok.

the Ngiseera) arrived there during the original migration of the Agricultural Paraniotes into Karamoja from the north-west, it would also seem possible that they may have been refugees from the western "Nyandere" famine, who entered Najie more or less simultaneously with, but separately from, the Rengen. Archaeological evidence tends to support the first hypothesis, for the Jimos homesteads are located on a great mound which was clearly built up over a long period of previous settlement and contains great numbers of half-buried deep-basin grinding stones. The only other mound of a comparable size in Najie is that upon which the Loser homesteads are built, and so it would seem quite probable that both the Loser and the Jimos represent groups who have been living at their present locations considerably longer than other Jie clans.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, some Jie traditions speak of the Jimos having "already established their ritual grove at Moru Eker"<sup>2</sup> (which, as will be seen in a following chapter, was to become a very important ritual centre for the Lokorwakol Jie) while the Lokorwakol were still clustered near Daidai, which again may indicate that the Lojoo group were earlier inhabitants of Najie.

The other Ngikorwakol territorial divisions appear to have assimilated far fewer aliens during the pioneering of their own

1 See Appendix 5. "Notes on Some Archaeological Sites in Northern and Central Karamoja". Other less imposing mounds can be found in Kanawat territorial division in the area roughly between the homesteads of the Toroi and Tesiyo clans, and near the homesteads of the Loperdu in Kotido.

2 Koroc (Lokepon), J-103.



areas. The pioneers of Kotiang territorial division, establishing their homesteads westwards from the original settlements around Daidai to the Dopeth River, came into closest contact with the Ngikuliak bands at Maru, just beyond the Dopeth. Few, if any, Ngikuliak appear to have been assimilated at this time, however, and the only aliens who appear to have been absorbed were two small groups of Agricultural Paraniotes: the Remokwori, and part of the clan which is now called Lominit.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, during the settlement of Panyangara territorial division, only another small branch of the same Ngipeerwo who were encountered by the settlers of Kotido, and possibly a tiny group known as "Gule",<sup>2</sup> were encountered and absorbed. During the initial settlement of Komakuny, Kanawat and Nakapelimoru divisions, apparently no alien groups were

1 According to Tosh's clan file (op.cit.), Remokwori is clearly represented in Lango society as "Oremakori". One such Oremakori group is part of the Arak clan, another of Tarantino's "universal" clans. The Lominit clan provides the important ritual functionary, "the one of the iron rod" (see pp. 175-6, Ch. III, above).

2 In personal communication, Webster expressed his belief that a group called "Taa-Gule" who were very early inhabitants of some parts of eastern Acholi may well have been a group of aboriginal hunters. From the testimonies of some of his informants, however (for example, see "Acholi Historical Texts", p. 61), it would seem that they were in fact a group of early arriving Agricultural Paraniotes. I was made aware of the existence of the Gule group of Panyangara only in the final days of my research and I did not have an opportunity to interview any informant from the clan or even to collect sufficient data about them from neighbouring Panyangara clans.

encountered, and so the first inhabitants of these areas seem to have been exclusively Koten-Magos peoples.

Virtually from the moment of its establishment, therefore, almost every Lokorwakol territorial division began to emerge as a unit distinct and unique from any other. It would seem highly likely that feelings of loyalty and inter-dependence grew up very rapidly between the men who pushed out together from Daidai to share the common hardships and adventure of settling a given territorial division. As the settlement of each division was undertaken by a few small compact clans, as previously mentioned, those feelings of loyalty were undoubtedly underlined to some extent by ties of kinship. Moreover, as we have seen, the divisions had widely different experiences of encountering and assimilating alien populations, ranging from the case of the Losilang pioneers who settled in an area where they encountered a strongly Lwo-influenced population of Agricultural Paraniotes who were probably about as numerous as themselves, to the case of the Kanawat who settled an apparently uninhabited area.

In most cases, however, Lokorwakol oral tradition contains disappointingly little information concerning the actual establishment of the various territorial divisions. In no case does there seem to have been any kind of conflict between the Koten-Magos pioneers from Daidai and whatever alien groups with which they may have come into contact, and in no case is there any indications that any such alien group was removed from its area of habitation



out that there was probably little of note to be passed on by the

oral by the new-comers. As is borne out by even present-day settle-

ment patterns, the clans of the first Koton-Magos pioneers to  
 The one exception to this seems to have been with the Yanggare  
 move into a new division from Daidai chose for themselves the  
 territorial division. A great deal more concerning the establishment  
 best of the available settlement sites (usually on a ridge) and  
 of this division appears to have been retained in their traditions  
 the most fertile of the available agricultural land (usually along  
 than is the case with the other divisions. This is undoubtedly due  
 river or stream beds), but again there is nothing to indicate that  
 to a major engineering feat performed by the Yanggare settlers,  
 any infringement on the land traditionally cultivated by pre-  
 unparalleled by any other divisions. Initially, the Yanggare estab-  
 existing populations took place.

lished themselves some miles south of their present location, at

the northern. In most instances, the absorbed alien populations formed their

cover own separate clans of the new territorial divisions, but in a few

taken cases they appear to have formed a close association with one or

another of the Koton-Magos clans of the new settlers. The case

when the Jis were all still together (at present, some

of the Loperdus of Kotido provides a good example:

met some Ngipeerdwo living near the ...  
 from which they derived their name. The Ngipeerdwo

showed us we Ngipeerdwo are sometimes referred to as "Lokocil",

decided and some people even think that we and the Lokocil

Ngipeerdwo clan have one etal (eg. are one clan). However, we

have different ngitalia and we are not really re-

The pre-ex about because when they arrived here they became our

neighbours and good friends. We marry each other's

daughters. When one of us slaughters an ox, the

other comes and shares it.<sup>1</sup>

when the first Yanggare came to settle they found

that Convenient natural boundaries between the divisions (usually

was a great deal of water there, and so these people

rivers or streams) seem to have been easily agreed upon, and no

instance of conflict caused by any boundary dispute is mentioned in

1. Loperdus (Hampton), J - 120.

any tradition. In short, the settlement of the new territorial

divisions was by all indications so peacefully and smoothly carried

- 1 Namuya (Ngorok) and Kwenye, J-105. The Lokocil were not, in fact, one of the original clans of Koton-Magos origin to settle in Kotido, but were probably Koton-Magos peoples who went first to Dodos before coming to Kotido not very long after its establishment.

out that there was probably little of note to be passed on by the oral traditions to following generations.

The one exception to this seems to have been with the Panyangara territorial division. A great deal more concerning the establishment of this division appears to have been retained in their traditions than is the case with the other divisions. This is undoubtedly due to a major engineering feat performed by the Panyangara settlers, unparalleled by any other division. Initially, the Panyangara established themselves some miles south of their present location, at the northern foot of Mt. Toror near the Lokibuwo River. The discovery of the area by the first Panyangara pioneers is said to have taken place in this way:

When the Jie were all still together (at Daidai), some came south to Lokibuwo and Toror to hunt. There they met some Ngipeerwo living near the big epeerwo tree from which they derived their name. The Ngipeerwo showed them it was a good area and so some of the people decided to go and settle there permanently with the Ngipeerwo.<sup>1</sup>

The pre-existing Ngipeerwo had made a discovery which was to be of great importance to the Panyangara settlers from Daidai:

1 When the first Panyangara came to Lokibuwo they found that ... the Ngipeerwo had discovered that there was a great deal of water there, and so those people of Panyangara decided to dig the Lokibuwo wells.<sup>2</sup>

1 Looru (Sampson), J - 120.

2 Lothike (Elawa), J-131.

3 Lohiru, Looa, and Adu, J-13. Although some Panyangara traditions credit the Ngipeerwo with having discovered what was abundant at Lokibuwo, all the Panyangara are agreed that as long as the deep wells pre-existed their arrival in the area, and that they alone were responsible for their excavation.



Although these wells have not been used for over a century (since the Panyangara were driven from the area by Karimojong attacks, see Ch. VII, below), and have consequently fallen into considerable disrepair, they nevertheless are most impressive. A system of water-holes, all heavily silted in, but still up to 12 or 15 feet deep, interconnected by a complex system of channels and canals, is still clearly discernable.<sup>1</sup> Panyangara traditions speak of "ladders" of six or eight men being formed in the past to hand up hide buckets of water from the wells to waiting herds. The system is all the more remarkable in that Panyangara traditions agree that the excavations were accomplished mainly with wooden digging stocks and hide buckets.<sup>2</sup> It is hardly surprising, then, that the Panyangara should have retained considerable information concerning the digging of the wells and the concurrent establishment of their territorial division, even the work-song of the Panyangara settlers who dug the wells still being remembered by their descendants:

Ji,o-on! Lokibuwo tolakar yong! Oh! Lokibuwo, you will be  
happy!  
Apotu atapapakan. Your fathers have come.  
Apotu ngikonidwe. Your children have come.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 During a visit to these wells in March, 1970, at the end of a particularly harsh dry season when surface water in Najie had long since disappeared, I was astonished to find pools of muddy water in some of the deeper wells.
- 2 See also Appendix 5. These are the only such deep wells which (as far as I know) exist in Karamoja. I have seen the deep wells in Tanzania Maasai-land at Ngasumet and elsewhere, and in comparison the Lokibuwo wells seem more like very deep water-holes. Nowhere in Maasai-land did I see anything similar to the Lokibuwo system of inter-connecting channels.
- 3 Lokiru, Acau, and Aupe, J-10. Although some Panyangara traditions credit the Ngipeerwo with having discovered that water was abundant at Lokibuso, all the Panyangara are adamant that no trace of the deep wells pre-existed their arrival in the area, and that they alone were responsible for their excavation.

While the Ngikorwakol were thus expanding to the south and east, establishing their territorial divisions, and assimilating alien peoples, the Rengen pioneers were pushing mainly towards the north-west from their ritual centre at Lokatap Rock.

The Rengen settlers who remained south of Lokatap Rock, nearest to Daidai, formed Kadwoman territorial division, bordered on the south by the Kadokwei River, which was recognised as the boundary between the Rengen and the Ngikorwakol. Included in that division were the homesteads of Ratai, the Rengen ekeworon clan, which were located near the site of the present Cilapus homesteads.

The settlements at Lokatap Rock itself, and on to the north, formed Lokatap territorial division. Other Rengen settlers pushed back towards the east, forming Kapelok territorial division, whose eastern boundary was the Longiro River, while other settlers pushed west, forming Calcaon territorial division which was bounded on the west by the Dopeth River. The fifth division, Ladoket, was established north-west of Calcaon, its settlers crossing the Dopeth and pushing steadily northwards in the direction of the Kapeta River (see Map 7).

Unlike many of the Lokorwakol divisions, none of the Rengen appear to have encountered any substantial numbers of pre-existing aliens as they settled their new areas.<sup>1</sup> Some Rengen traditions

1 Some traditions (eg. J-102) speak of some Ngipeerwo inhabiting part of the Kapelok area, but it seems more likely that these Ngipeerwo were immigrants from Kotido who arrived well after the Rengen divisions were established.

2 lokayan, J-124. Although the traditions do not really provide an explanation of why the Post had pulled back from the Kadok area, it would seem that their withdrawal was not directly connected with the advance of the Rengen, but had preceded it by some years.



however, claim that one of the leaders of the "Ngikatapa" (some specifically mention Oding), returned to Acholi as the Rengen expansion began in order to recruit additional settlers from his people who had remained in the west despite the Nyamdere famine:

The leader of our people returned to Acholi and collected the rest of our people who had remained there. He brought them back to Lokatap in Rengen where he told them to settle.<sup>1</sup>

The Rengen soon realized that the areas around Kaceri and Makal to the north-west were by far the best watered and most fertile areas of northern Najie,<sup>2</sup> and large numbers of pioneers, led by the Ladoket, but joined by individuals and families from all the other Rengen territorial divisions, spilled across the Dopeth and pushed on into these areas. As the Rengen vanguard began the settlement of the Kaceri area, they realized that others had been living in that area not long before:

When the Rengen arrived at Kaceri, they saw grind-stones and circles of flat stones which had been the supports for granaries here at the base of this mountain. The mountain itself was called "Poet", for the people who had lived here were those same Poet who occupied the whole area from Makal up to the Kapeta River.<sup>3</sup>

1 Lokayan, J-124.

2 These are precisely the areas into which great numbers of Jie settlers have been moving during the past 20 years. Already the agricultural out-put of this area seems to nearly equal the combined out-put of all the rest of Najie.

3 Lokayan, J-124. Although the traditions do not really provide an explanation of why the Poet had pulled back from the Kaceri area, it would seem that their withdrawal was not directly connected with the advance of the Rengen, but had preceded it by some years.

These Poet, asplinter group left behind in the wake of the likely that with the friendly people on their right flank, the main Agricultural Paraniotic migration into Karamoja from the Rengen pioneers initially were not overly concerned by the presence north-west, were the same people with whom Opio and his "Ngikatapa" famine refugees had had brief contact on their journey to Koten from the Acholi borderland (see pp. 221-3 above). As will be discussed more fully in the next chapter, they seem to have been a fairly numerous and powerful people, and from the beginning they must have presented a considerable barrier to further Rengen expansions towards the north-west and the Kapeta River.

There are some indications, however, that the Rengen probably did not envisage any immediate threat from their Poet neighbours. Some traditions claim that the Rengen were not alone as they expanded to the north, but that "the Rengen and the Toposa went north together."<sup>1</sup> Other traditions suggest that the Toposa in fact emigrated to the north some years before the start of the Rengen expansion, but as noted above (p. 231) fairly strong bonds between the Ngikor Toposa at Loyoro in Dodos and the Jie appear to have been retained. It would seem very probable that the Toposa had their closest contacts with the Rengen settlers who were

Footnote 2 continued from overleaf

Archaeological sites associated with the Poet are still found throughout this area. The greatest profusion of sites are near Losikuca Hill, a few miles west of Kaceri. These sites are dominated by some of the largest stone circles seen anywhere in Najie. Far less was found at Poet Mountain itself, despite the reports of many informants living in the area. Other important sites supposedly exist at Kalomide some miles north of Poet Mountain, and at Makal to the east, although neither of these were investigated. Many of the habitation sites in northern Losilang are also attributed to the Poet. See Appendix 5, "Notes on Some Archaeological Sites in Northern and Central Karamoja."



## CHAPTER V

pushing across the Dopeth to the north (see Map 7), and it is likely that with the friendly Toposa on their right flank, the Rengen pioneers initially were not overly concerned by the presence of the Poet between themselves and the Kapeta River.

In the preceding chapters, the separation of the Loten-

By about 1770, as the Ngipalajam initiations were brought to a close and more and more members of the succeeding asapanu, Ngikok, were initiated, the emerging Jie (or more properly "Ngiro") community had already evolved its two moieties and constituent territorial divisions, and had undergone a period of expansion and settlement in which an area roughly equivalent to present Najie was occupied.

While the expansions of both moieties were carried out rapidly and peacefully, each expansion was markedly dissimilar from the other. While the Lokorwakol expansion led to the formation of seven divisions, scattered over a fairly large area from the east bank of the Dopeth River in the north-west to the foot of Mt. Toror in the south-west, the Rengen expansion was focused towards one direction only, the north-west, which resulted in the formation of five more compactly grouped divisions. While the Kden-Magos elements who formed the core of the Lokorwakol assimilated considerable numbers of pre-existing aliens, thereby underlining feelings of their own unique and separate identities among many of their territorial divisions, the Agricultural Paraniotic "Ngikatapa" who were the Rengen assimilated few, if any, outsiders. Possibly because of this, and very probably because of the stronger unifying factor provided by their more powerful Ngikeworok, feelings of corporate identity among the Rengen were more strongly focused on the group as a whole, rather than on the constituent territorial divisions.

CHAPTER VTHE JIE AND THEIR NORTHERN AND WESTERN NEIGHBOURS IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

In the preceding chapters, the separation of the Koton-Magos group into two major sub-divisions which drifted out to opposite peripheries of the area of concentration was described (see p. 213, Ch. IV, above). While elements of the northern sub-division made contact with "Ngikatapa" famine refugees, and with them moved westwards to Najie to form the embryonic core of the Jie community, as was also described in that chapter, the southern sub-division of the Koton-Magos group remained clustered in the area from the Magos Hills down to the Apule River (see Map 5, above). Apart from those two major sub-divisions, there was also a third group in Karamoja which was composed of basically the same Central Paraniotic-speaking elements. This third group, which ultimately provided the basic elements of the Lokorikituk section of the Dodos, appears to have broken away from the original migration of the Koton-Magos group from the southern Sudan before it actually arrived in its area of concentration at Koton and the Magos Hills. According to many of the Koton-Magos traditions, these Lokorikituk remained in the area from the Napore Hills (north-west of present-day Kaabong township) southwestwards toward the Nyangea Hills (see Map 8), where they existed as a community largely independent of the Koton-Magos concentration:



When the Jie, Turkana, Karimojong and the others were living at Magos, the (Lokorikituk) Dodos were not with them. They lived in the north and associated with the Napore and Ngikuliak (Teuso). They obtained their water from the wells at Samuke.<sup>1</sup>

As the Lokorwakol and Kengen moisties of the still embryonic Jie community commenced their respective expansions outwards from Daidai, the territorial entity of Najie gradually began to take shape. Except to the north-west, however, where Rengen pioneers pushing across the Dopeth River began to impinge on the fringes of the area occupied by the Agricultural Faranilotic Poet (see p.265, Ch.IV, above), Najie as yet had nothing even approaching discernable frontiers. Elsewhere to the north, Jie settlement areas and grazing lands simply gave way to uninhabited bush country, beyond which, further north, lay the settlements and grazing areas of the emigrant Ngikor Toposa (see pp.265-7, Ch.IV, above). It is important, then, briefly to shift our attention northwards to examine a series of events in which the Lokorikituk group, even further north, played a key role, for these events were to culminate in the definition of the northern frontier of Najie.

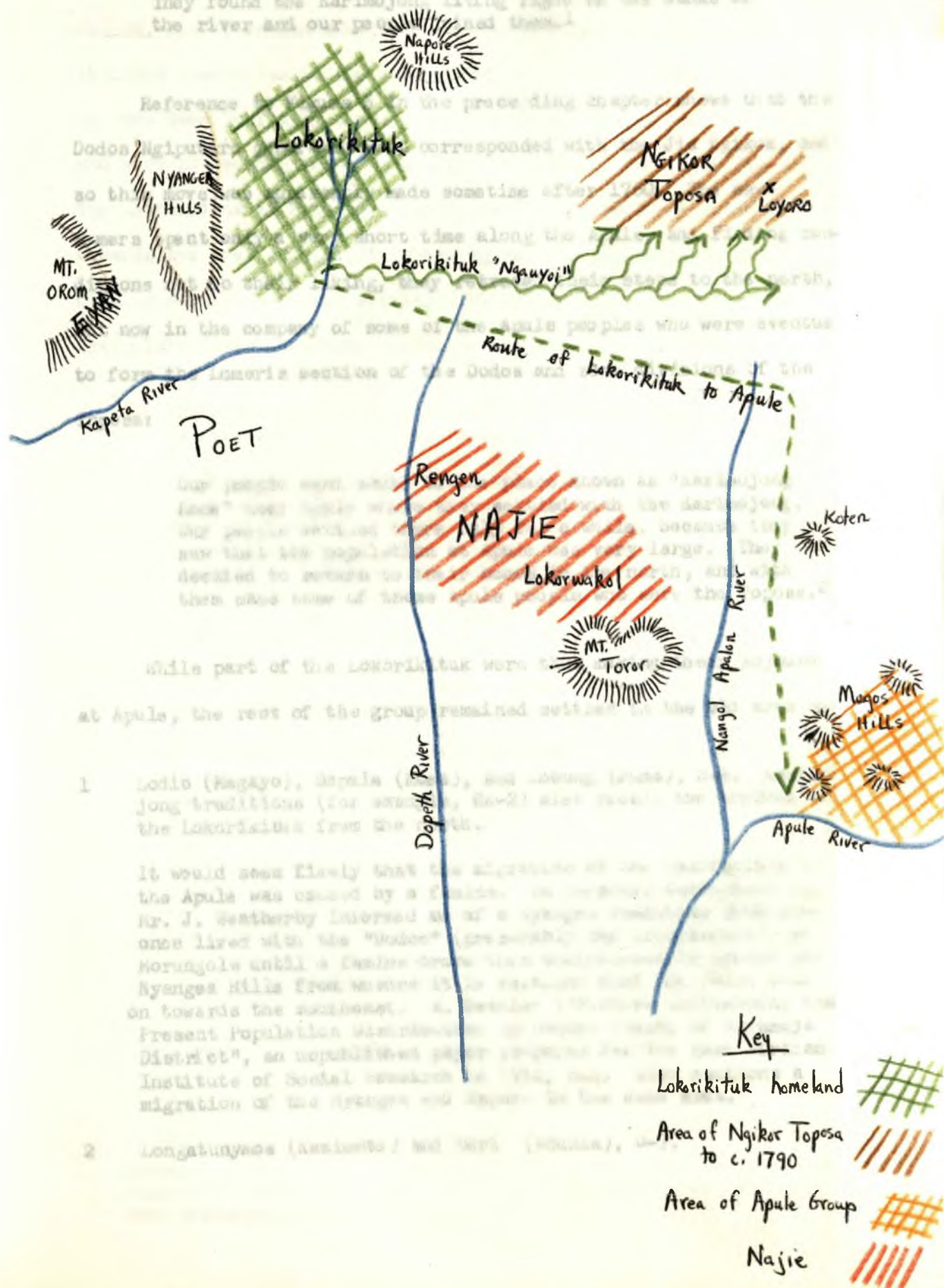
After the departure of the northern sub-division of the Koton-Magos group to Najie, part of the Lokorikituk are remembered to have left their homeland and to have travelled south, eventually joining with the southern sub-division of the Koton-Magos group concentrated on the northern banks of the Apule River:

1 Ecak (Timothy) J-5.

## MAP 8

## The Lokorikituk

MAP 8





Nyangea. Again, as described in the preceding chapter (p. 267), when the Ngiputiro asapanu was initiating, some of our people left Nyangea and went south to the Apule River. They found the Karimojong living right on the banks of the river and our people joined them.<sup>1</sup>

Reference to Figure 5 in the preceding chapter shows that the Dodos Ngiputiro generation-set corresponded with the Jie Ngikok, and so this move was apparently made sometime after 1760. The newcomers spent only a very short time along the Apule, and finding conditions not to their liking, they retraced their steps to the north, but now in the company of some of the Apule peoples who were eventually to form the Lomeris section of the Dodos and some divisions of the

Toposa:

The Dodos were originally settled near Karibab in western Nyangea. To the south-east of them were the Toposa. The Dodos began moving south-east. Our people went south to the place known as "Karimojong Rock" near Apule where they settled with the Karimojong. Our people settled there only for a while, because they saw that the population at Apule was very large. They decided to return to their homes in the north, and with them came some of those Apule people who were the Toposa.<sup>2</sup>

While part of the Lokorikituk were thus making their sojourn at Apule, the rest of the group remained settled in the old area near

- 1 Lodio (Magayo), Dapala (Musa), and Lobong (Juma), D-6. Karimojong traditions (for example, BK-2) also recall the arrival of the Lokorikituk from the north.

It would seem likely that the migration of the Lokorikituk to the Apule was caused by a famine. In personal communication, Mr. J. Weatherby informed me of a Nyangea tradition that they once lived with the "Dodos" (presumably the Lokorikituk), at Morungole until a famine drove them southwestwards toward the Nyangea Hills from whence it is recalled that the Dodos went on towards the southeast. W. Deshler ("Factors Influencing the Present Population Distribution in Dodos County of Karamoja District", an unpublished paper prepared for the East African Institute of Social Research in 1954, p.4) also mentions a migration of the Nyangea and Napore in the same area.

- 2 Longatunymoe (Kasimoto) and Meri (Adunia), D-7.



Nyangea. Again, as described in the preceding chapter (pp. 265-7), the people who were ultimately to form the Ngikor division of the Toposa, having broken away from the Jie settlers at Daidai, established themselves in the Loyoro area of southern Dodos and seem to have been in fairly close contact with the Rengen Jie settlers who were pioneering areas northward from Lokatap Rock (see Map 8). The Lokorikituk at Nyangea began to cast a covetous eye south-eastwards towards the area occupied by these Ngikor Toposa, however, and finally devised a clever stratagem to gain control of that area. An articulate Dodos informant explained how it was accomplished:

The Dodos were originally settled near Karikalet in western Nyangea. To the south-east of them were the Toposa. The Dodos began sending their ngauyoi (cattle-camps) in that direction, and they saw that the cattle which went to these eastern areas became very fat - not like the poor 'Katap' cattle which grazed at Nyangea. When the young men of the ngauyoi returned to Nyangea, they said to the elders, "The grass is good in the east. Let us, the young men, go back there and test the strength of the Toposa. The Toposa and the Jie are brothers. Let us try to separate them so that we can fight the Toposa by themselves, without having to fight their brothers, the Jie, as well." And so the young men went back to the east with their cattle, but this time with shields on their arms, and all the women and children were left behind at Nyangea. The young men established ngauyoi at Karwa, Nangoleseme, Longomo, Nagoroete, Narengecoto, Nakuuma, and Lopemu (all located between Nyangea and Loyoro). Several hundred young men remained in each place. And so, without any war being declared, the Dodos gradually moved in between the Jie and the Toposa. When they were successfully between them, the young men suddenly attacked the Toposa. They captured the Toposa wells at Loyoro, Komokatai and Loalam. Fighting went on for nearly three years, and then the Toposa began to go away to the north.<sup>1</sup>

The rout of the Toposa appears to have been made complete with

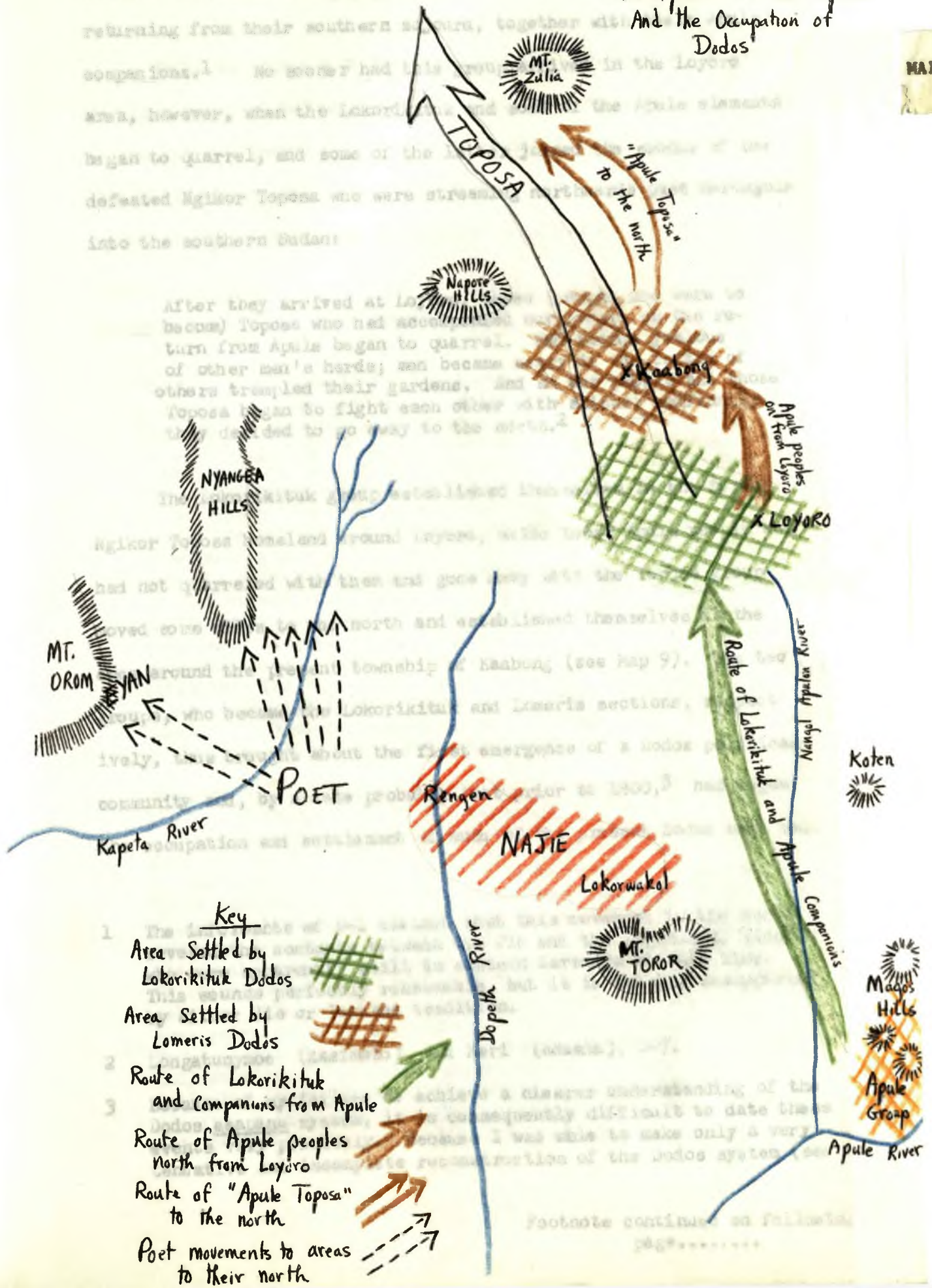
1 Lokoel (Musa), D-9. Lokoel's narrative, only part of which is reproduced here, was one of the longest uninterrupted narratives ever recorded during my field-work.



## MAP 9

The Expulsion of the Toposa  
And the Occupation of  
Dodos

MAP 9





with the timely arrival from the south of the other Lokorikituk, returning from their southern sojourn, together with their Apule companions.<sup>1</sup> No sooner had this group arrived in the Loyoro area, however, when the Lokorikituk and some of the Apule elements began to quarrel, and some of the latter joined the exodus of the defeated Ngikor Toposa who were streaming northwards past Morungole into the southern Sudan:

After they arrived at Loyoro, those (people who were to become) Toposa who had accompanied our people on the return from Apule began to quarrel. Men became jealous of other men's herds; men became angry if the cattle of others trampled their gardens. And so our people and those Toposa began to fight each other with sticks, and finally they decided to go away to the north.<sup>2</sup>

The Lokorikituk group established themselves in the former Ngikor Toposa homeland around Loyoro, while those Apule people who had not quarreled with them and gone away with the Toposa group moved some miles to the north and established themselves in the area around the present township of Kaabong (see Map 9). The two groups, who became the Lokorikituk and Lomeris sections, respectively, thus brought about the first emergence of a Dodos political community and, by a date probably just prior to 1800,<sup>3</sup> had begun the occupation and settlement of much of the present Dodos home and.

- 1 The informants of D-1 claimed that this movement to the north severed the contacts between the Jie and the (Ngimonia) Turkana who were apparently still in eastern Karamoja at this time. This sounds perfectly reasonable, but it is totally unsupported by either Jie or Turkana tradition.
- 2 Longatunymoe (Kasimoto) and Meri (Adunia), D-7.
- 3 Because of my failure to achieve a clearer understanding of the Dodos asapanu system, it is consequently difficult to date these events very precisely. Because I was able to make only a very tentative and incomplete reconstruction of the Dodos system (see



however, the replacement of the asapanu by the emerging Dodo system

was undoubtedly of greater concern. After the occupation of

While the genesis of the Dodos and the expulsion of the Toposa was thus going on to their north, the Jie were continuing their occupation and settlement of Najie. The events in the north probably had little effect on most of the Ngikorwakol, whose territories were mainly in the southern and eastern parts of Najie. For the Rengen,

"brothers" on their right flank were hesitant to continue any further

Footnote 3 continued from previous page

Fig.5, Ch.IV, above), the testimonies of some Dodos informants tended to be very confusing. While I am reasonably satisfied that the Lokorikituk migration to Apule took place during their Ngiputiro asapanu, which corresponded to the Jie Ngikok, I am rather less certain as to exactly when the Lokorikituk and their Apule companions returned to the north. Although Dodos traditions agreed that only a very short time was spent at Apule before the return to the north, the date of that return was sometimes expressed with reference to generation-sets and/or age-sets which were largely unfamiliar to me. For example, the informants of D-7 stated that a group called "Ngikosowa" was initiated at the time of the return to the north, but I was never able satisfactorily to place these Ngikosowa in the Dodos reconstruction. Other informants, such as those of D-3, indicated that the Toposa were expelled during the time of "Ngibaanga", but as Ngibaanga appears to be one of the two alternating "real" names for all Dodos generation-sets, it was again difficult to be entirely certain of the dates indicated.

Nevertheless, it would seem likely from other Dodos testimony that the return from Apule and the expulsion of the Toposa both occurred towards the end of the Ngiputiro initiations, and therefore sometime not long before 1800. For example, Lokoel, the reliable Dodos informant of D-9, is descended from a group of Pokot immigrants who were led to Dodos by the grandfather of his father. Although he did not know the name of the asapanu which returned from Apule and expelled the Toposa, Lokoel stated that his great-grandfather (whose asapanu would have been that following Ngiputiro) found that the Ngikorikituk had already returned from Apule and the Toposa had already been expelled some years prior to his arrival. If these events did, in fact, occur towards the end of the Ngiputiro initiations, the date indicated would correspond almost exactly to that of 1780-90 estimated by A.C. Beaton (in Nalder, op.cit., p.67 and 1950 op.cit., p.131), based on the Toposa asapanu system, as the date of the Toposa emigration from Karamoja.



however, the replacement of the Toposa by the emerging Dodos community was undoubtedly of greater concern. After the occupation of the Kaceri-Kalomide area (see p. 265, Ch. IV, above), the advance of the Rengen pioneers across the Dopeth River ground to a halt. The traditions recall that beyond Kalomide lay increasingly large numbers of the Agricultural Paraniotic Poet and their Lwo allies, and it would seem very likely that the Rengen, now without their Toposa "brothers" on their right flank, were hesitant to continue any determined push north-westwards into the Poet territory towards the Kapeta River. (see map 9). Still, from the very early stages of

This is not to imply that there was any overt conflict between the Rengen pioneers and either the Poet or the emerging Dodos at this time, however. Many traditions indicate that the Rengen (sometimes even accompanied by members of the northern Lokorwakol territorial divisions) did in fact penetrate the Poet territory, not as permanent settlements, but as temporary cattle-camps, to whom the basically agricultural Poet allowed access to the important Kapeta watering points: the populations encountered by the Agikwakol pioneers were

After the other people, such as the Turkana and the Ngiseera, went away from Najie, the Jie began looking for places to send their ngauyoi (cattle-camps). The Rengen, with some of the Kotiang, began going up to Kapeta to ngauyoi. Their camps were at Lokapel, Makal, Lolalia, Lomatere, Loberis (all in the direction of the Kapeta River) and such places .... In those days there was no trouble with the Dodos (Poet) who lived in that area.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 It was during the Agikwakol invasion (Antenna 1961, 241) that their arrival was at least partially disturbed by a famine and a plague of locusts. As the Jie movements gradually took
- 1 Adai (Lokongukuyo) and Kojo, J-93. As will be shown in the next chapter, a large percentage of the Poet were eventually to form the third Dodos section, Lokaato, and so many Jie informants have a tendency to refer to the Poet as "Dodos".



It would furthermore appear likely that at this time, both the Poet and the emerging Dodos had temporarily transferred their attentions away from the south and the Rengen pioneers. The emigration of the Ngikorikituk Dodos from the Nyangea area to Loyoro had created a temporary territorial vacuum to the north-east which the Poet rapidly filled.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the emerging Lokorikituk and Lomeris sections of the Dodos seem to have been primarily concerned with the settlement of territories largely to the north at this time, and so there was little, if any, pressure along the northern frontier of the Rengen (see Map 9). Still, from the very early stages of their northern expansion, the Rengen must have been rather uneasy about the proximity of their two powerful northern neighbours, the Poet and the Dodos.

During their occupation and settlement of eastern and southern Najie, the Dokorwakol territorial divisions came into contact with no numerically powerful or potentially hostile alien groups such as the Poet or Dodos. As described in the preceding chapter (see pp.255-66) the alien populations encountered by the Ngikorwakol pioneers were relatively small ones which were rapidly and smoothly assimilated during their expansions. Apparently the only non-assimilated aliens

- 1 It was probably at this time that some Poet also joined with the Ngieyan Agricultural Paranilotes at Mt. Orom, where they formed the Poot clan. An Eyan informant (Antonio Lokidi, Y-1) mentioned that their arrival was at least partially dictated by a famine and a plague of locusts. As the Poet movements apparently took place just at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there is ample evidence from other societies to conclude that there was indeed a famine at this time (see pp.304-7 below).

Appendix 3.  
 "Notes on some Archaeological sites in Northern and Central Aramaja". However, the Jie statements were entirely unsupported by any Nyswai traditions collected by myself or (separately) by Herring.



directly contacted by the Ngikorwakol pioneers were some Nyakwai elements encountered by Panyangara ngauyoi which pushed south-westwards from the settlements near the Lokibuwo deep wells:

The Panyangara ngauyoi used to go from Lokibuwo up to Kopua and Kailong in Nyakwai for grass and water. At first, the Jie and the Nyakwai lived peacefully, without quarrels between them.<sup>1</sup>

As this tradition states, the Ngikorwakol relations with the Nyakwai appear to have been (at least initially) friendly, and there is absolutely no indication that Ngikorwakol regarded their numerically weak south-western neighbours as any threat.

Indeed, the only alien group whom the Ngikorwakol regarded (perhaps with some justification) as a potential menace were the people known as "Kapwor", whose settlements, near Katipus mountain west of the head-waters of the Kotidani (or Tikidani) River, were a good 30 miles west of any Lokorwakol territorial division (see Map 10). Despite the distance between them, the Ngikorwakol were, from the very early days of the occupation and settlement of Najie, nevertheless keenly aware of the existence of the Kapwor:

- 1 Longoli (Apanyemuge) J-104. Herring (*op.cit.*, p.9) recorded a Nyakwai tradition which seems to refer to the appearance of these same Jie ngauyoi. Despite some Nyakwai traditions which seem to indicate that there was trouble between these early ngauyoi and the Nyakwai, Herring suggests that the trouble probably took place somewhat later, perhaps between about 1830-40. Jie traditions certainly support Herring's view.

Other Jie traditions mentioned that when the Panyangara arrived at Lokibuwo, there were Nyakwai settlements on the northern slopes of Mt. Toror itself, and I was personally conducted by Jie elders to several habitation sites on the mountain which they claimed were once Nyakwai settlements (see Appendix 5, "Notes on some Archaeological Sites in Northern and Central Karamoja"). However, the Jie statements were entirely unsupported by any Nyakwai traditions collected by myself or (apparently) by Herring.



While the Jie were settling this area (Najie), the Kapwor were there in the west at Kotidani. Those Kapwor would sometimes hold big ceremonies and the dust kicked up by their dances would be seen by the Jie far to the east in Najie. And the Jie would look to the west and say, "There are the Kapwor."<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, it would seem certain that, by the time of the eighteenth century occupation of Najie by the Ngikuliak and the Agikwani, the agricultural habitations of the Kotidani area had been largely abandoned, replaced by agricultural Paraniotic groups from the north. Many Labwor clans were descended from these northern immigrants, and their traditions describe the arrival of their ancestors from the north. The Kotidani River area, which was the home of the Kapwor, is one of the best watered and most fertile areas in Central Karamoja.<sup>2</sup> As it lay directly across the main migration route from the Orom pass southwards into Karamoja (see Map 4, Ch.III, above), it appears to have been a convenient stopping-place for many of the Agricultural Paraniotic- and some of the Lwo-speaking groups which followed that route southwards into Karamoja (see p. 205 Ch.III, above). Consequently, it is sometimes difficult accurately to describe the composition of the Kapwor group at a given point in time. At some fairly remote date the area may have contained a considerable Ngikuliak population. Some Jie traditions mentioned Ngikuliak settlements in the area, and Ngikuliak informants agreed that some of their ancestors

1 Logwela and Kere, J-125.

2 This same area is the one in which the largest and most successful dams in central Karamoja have been constructed in recent years by the Uganda Government, and it was also one of the two areas (the other being the Kaceri-Kalomide area pioneered by the Rengen settlers west of the Dopeth) under consideration at the time of my departure from Karamoja as a location for a proposed agricultural settlement scheme. A number of Jie settlers occupied the area in the 1950's and remained there until being driven out by Karimojong raids in the early 1960's. In the opinions of several of these settlers with whom I spoke, the area contains the best agricultural land anywhere in Central or Northern Karamoja, barring only the Labwor Hills.

2 Okidi (Shavi), 1-11.



lived at Kiruu cave, a few miles north of Katipus mountain,<sup>1</sup> and a great many sherds of "deep-grooved" pottery found at one Katipus site (which seems clearly separate from other sites in that area) may well support these traditions.

Nevertheless, it would seem certain that, by the time of the eighteenth century occupation of Najie by the Ngikorwakol and the Rengen, the Ngikuliak inhabitants of the Kotidani area had been largely, if not entirely, replaced by Agricultural Paranilotic groups from the north. Many Labwor clans were descended from these northern immigrants, and their traditions describe in some detail the arrival of their ancestors from the north:

The Kapwor came from far to the north, in the Sudan. We were once one people as the Lotuko, and our original language was like theirs. Our present language (a Lwo dialect) was learned from people like the Acoli as we came from the north.... After leaving the Sudan, the Kapwor settled at Tulalo at Didinga, west of Kidepo. There were no people in that area at that time. The Didinga were not yet there. From Tulalo, the Kapwor moved south to Apore, but the Napore people were not there at that time. From Apore, the Kapwor came south to Tikidani (Kotidani) and settled there.... The people who settled at Tikidani were composed of many clans. The Kapwor were the largest clan, however, and so the whole group was known as "Kapwor". The Kalanga and other clans were also there.<sup>2</sup>

Some traditions indicate that the Agricultural Paranilotic Kapwor

- 1 Lomare, Looru and Lomugur (Locan), J-78. The Kiruu Cave is the largest natural cavern I saw in Karamoja. Some traditions indicated that it was once used for Ngikuliak burials, but grinding-stones inside the cave show that it was also used for habitation. It is still considered sacred by the Ngikuliak and is held in great awe by the Jie. See also Appendix 5, "Notes on some Archaeological Sites in Northern and Central Karamoja".
- 2 Okidi (Simei), L-10.

2 Lomali (Makapan) and Lonyala, J-42.

3 Okeo (Tonusan) L-11.



may have been soon joined at Kotidani by some clans which were originally Lwo-speaking, although most of the Lwo clans which were ultimately to inhabit the area apparently settled there only after about 1800 (see pp. 309-10 below). Other traditions state that at least part of the Loser and (possibly) the Loposa groups of Agricultural Paraniotes,<sup>1</sup> the earlier inhabitants of Najie who fled to the west with the advent of the Koton immigrants (see pp. 225-6, Ch. IV, above), also joined with the Kapwor at Katipus Mountain during the first half of the eighteenth century:

Most of our people went west from Nakere water-hole in Kotido and never returned ... They went first to Kotidani where they became one people with the Kapwor before they moved on to Serer (Lango).<sup>2</sup>

Labwor traditions also mention these Ngiseera who joined the Kapwor from the east:

The people who came from the north settled at Tikidani, which is sometimes called "Apwor", and at Nayanga mountain, which is nearby. The people called "Iseera" also came to that place from the place called "Loser", which is in Kotido near the (present) prison.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Although a number of Jie informants related traditions that the Loposa stopped at Kotidani on their way to the west, this was denied by the Loposa informants of J-111 who claimed that their ancestors followed another route which took them south of Kotidani. Apparently some groups of Ngiseera also took different routes to the west and did not stop at Kotidani either. For example, Logom, the informant of J-61 related a tradition in which some Ngiseera are remembered to have turned south to the Nyakwai Hills before arriving at Kotidani, and another version of the "Serer Song" (recorded on p. 226 Ch. IV, above) sung by the informants of J-40 again indicates that part of the Ngiseera went west via Nyakwai. It can reasonably be concluded that these emigrants from Najie went to the west not as a single group, but as several groups, following different routes. The matter is further complicated, however, by the fact that when part of the Loser and Loposa emigrants eventually decided to return to Najie, many did so, once again, via the Kotidani River area, as will be discussed below.

2 Lokwii (Nakeapan) and Lonyala, J-42.

3 Okeo (Yonasan) L-11.







The traditions agree that the people at Kotidani were basically agricultural, with sorghum as their main crop, but that they also owned fairly large numbers of cattle, unlike many other Agricultural Paraniotic groups. There is also agreement that some of the Kapwor were skilled blacksmiths and smelters, and that during the occupation and settlement of Najie by the Ngikorwakol and Rengen, the Kapwor population at Kotidani was a very large one indeed:

The Kapwor were very numerous. They occupied the entire area from Camkok to Longori, northwest of Katipus mountain, and southwards as far as Kamorumoru, and westwards as far as Longaro. We cannot be sure if they were more numerous than the Jie or not, but our ancestors said that they were truly very many.<sup>1</sup>

Archaeological investigations in the Kotidani area lent considerable support to the traditions. Visits to the area described in the preceding tradition confirmed that it was once inhabited by a very large population (see Map 10). Habitation sites appear to be scattered throughout the entire area, with probably the greatest concentrations between Katipus mountain and the Kotidani River. In some places it is impossible to take a step without grinding pot-sherds underfoot.<sup>2</sup> Early in 1971, a rapid survey of the southern and eastern slopes of Katipus was undertaken, and in that area alone (which probably represents only one corner of the entire site) a single research assistant and I counted 173 of the massive Logwela and Kere J-125.

4. Except for the isolated site containing "deep-grooved" sherds mentioned above (p. 280), most of the pottery at Kotidani bears "imprinted" or rouletted designs, and it is considerably thicker than the "deep-grooved" variety described in Ch. III (p. 134) above. See also Appendix 5, "Notes on some Archaeological Sites in Northern and Central Karamoja".



Although the expansion of the Ngikwakal Jie did not bring deep-basin grinding stones, a large number of circles of upright flat stones, about 30 cairns (possibly burials),<sup>1</sup> and three smelting furnaces with accompanying slag-heaps, two of them inside stone circles. Evidence of agricultural terracing and probably man-made channels was also still discernable on the mountain slopes. As the grinding-stones, cairns, smelting furnaces and other artifacts actually found during my brief survey surely represent only a relatively small proportion of those which exist at the sites, it would probably be quite reasonable to estimate that the Kotidani population once numbered several thousand, and a detailed survey of the whole site might indicate an even larger number.<sup>2</sup>

1 Some Jie and Labwor informants expressed their belief that these were graves of important men, while others said they were just "sacred places" or "like shrines". As I am without formal archaeological training, I naturally did not attempt to excavate any of these cairns, but Mr. Sassoon, who accompanied me on one visit to the sites, expressed his desire to eventually undertake some excavations.

2 Because the Kotidani area lies across the main migration route from the north-west and because it is often difficult to be entirely certain of the composition of the Kapwor population at a given point in time, it would undoubtedly be dangerous to attempt any estimate of the population based entirely on the pottery in the area. Surely the pot sherds represent not one single population, but rather a number of different populations who inhabited the area at different times. On the other hand, the grinding-stones would seem to be a more accurate gauge of the population which existed in the area just prior to the major dispersal of the Kapwor about 1800 (see pp. 36-7, below). While some of the grinding-stones were broken or worn through, the great majority were still quite serviceable. Of the 173 counted during my brief survey, for example, at least 160 were still in good condition. Presumably, all the serviceable grinding-stones represent the number in use at the time of the Kapwor dispersal, as one would hardly take the trouble to make a new one if a perfectly serviceable old one lay disused nearby.

was traded to the Jie, which would seem likely (see p. 33, below). In any case, there is nothing to indicate any very close or prolonged contact between the two peoples.

2. Kapiro (Linyituka), J-112.



Although the expansion of the Ngikorwakol Jie did not bring them into any prolonged contact or immediate territorial rivalry with these numerically powerful westerners,<sup>1</sup> there were undoubtedly some fears that the Kapwor herds might soon be encroaching on grazing and watering resources claimed by some of the Ngikorwakol territorial divisions. While the permanent settlements of the Kapwor were some distance from Lokorwakol, the grazing lands of the Kapwor cattle lay to the east of the permanent settlements, in the direction of Najie (see Map. 10).

By about 1770, the second anyamet (age-set) of the Ngikok generation-set were being initiated throughout Najie. The traditions recall that the young men who composed this anyamet were a troublesome lot and that the elders had to take steps to castigate them:

The second anyamet of Ngikok were rude. They insulted the elders and the elders ordered that they should be beaten.<sup>2</sup>

In obedience to the elders' orders, the senior anyamet of the Ngikok fell upon their juniors and administered ameto (group punishment) to them in the form of a severe beating with switches. It is important to note, however, that only the Ngikorwakol Ngikok appear to have been involved, and that the Ngikok initiates of the

1 Some Labwor informants (including those of L-8 and L-9) indicated that Jie ngauyoi were actually in contact with the Kapwor settlements, but it is possible that the reference to "Jie" is really to Agricultural Paranilotic Ngiseera who went to the west with the advent of the Koton peoples (see p. 226, above). Other informants (including those of L-4) claimed that some Kapwor iron was traded to the Jie, which would seem likely (see p. 315, below). In any case, there is nothing to indicate any very close or prolonged contact between the two peoples.

2 Mabuc (Loputuka), J-112.



their sons. The Ngikok were well pleased and said, "Truly, God has been very good to us. Here all of Hengen, still in the process of settling the Kaceri-Kalomide area to the northwest of the Dopeth River, do not seem to have been included. In an attempt to escape further beatings and to recover some of their lost dignity, the junior Ngikok of the various Ngikor-wakol territorial divisions fled as a group into the bush. Some traditions recall that the initiates of Kanawat territorial division (the one which lay the closest to the Kapwor) led the flight, and certainly the route taken by the fugitives led them westwards from Kanawat. As they wandered in the bush, the temporary outcasts came to the hill which subsequently was named Camkok:

The young men of the Ngikok came to a hill where there was water and they halted there to drink and to rest. One of them climbed that hill and looked out to the west. Then he returned to his companions and said, "Brothers, come with me for I have seen animals grazing just to the west. They seem to be elands, but I am not certain, so come and see for yourselves." And so all of those Ngikok climbed the hill and looked to the west. They saw that those animals were not elands, but the cattle of the Kapwor, who used that area for their pastures.<sup>1</sup>

Although they had not expected to become engaged in any military conflict and had gone to the bush unarmed, the Ngikok initiates, noting that the Kapwor herds were only lightly guarded, are recalled to have immediately siezed the opportunity and raided the Kapwor herds:

.....And so the Ngikok attacked the Kapwor who guarded those herds and they captured all the cattle. They took the cattle back to Najie rejoicing, and when the people saw them coming, they were surprised, and they praised

1 Apalodokoro, Lomongin (Julio) and Inua, J-23. These informants differed from others in claiming that the Ngikok went to the bush, not to escape further punishment, but because they were commanded to by the elders in order to search for honey as an added chastisement after their beatings.



their sons. The Ngikok were well pleased and said, "Truly, God has been very good to us. Here all of the cattle of the Kapwor which we have taken without a real fight." And so that hill from which they raided the Kapwor was given the name Camkok (roughly, 'the place which brings good fortune to the Ngikok') to honour them.<sup>1</sup>

Although perhaps an initial raid may have been made on the Kapwor in the manner described in the widely known "Camkok tradition", it can be suggested that the tradition may in fact be a rather truncated recollection of a whole period of raiding against the Kapwor.<sup>2</sup> Still, Jie traditions do record only this one (very decisive) raid, and make no mention of any retaliatory raids by the Kapwor. In any case, therefore, the Jie clearly seem to have been the more successful in whatever conflict went on between the two peoples, and undoubtedly any Jie fears concerning the potential threat posed by the Kapwor must have diminished after the success (or successes) of the Ngikok.

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The "Camkok traditions" give considerable insight into an important aspect of the Jie socio-political system: that is, the

1 Kulomoi (Asaesiyaai), Lowosia (Apacacorod) and Apalopetaa, J-13. Like some of the place-names in central Najie discussed in the preceding chapter (ChIV, p. 224, above), the derivation of the name Camkok seems far more reasonable than is often the case in traditions which purport to explain how place- or group-names were derived.

2 One is also rather suspicious of some versions of the Camkok tradition in which it seems implied that the Jie were unaware of the existence of the Kapwor prior to this raid, as other traditions (such as that recorded on p. 279 above) clearly indicate that the Jie were very much aware of them prior to the raid.

authority of the elders, as expressed within the context of the asapanu system. It is important to emphasise that this gerontocratic authority was a constant factor throughout the entire Jie historical experience, and indeed has been maintained (at least to a degree) up to the present day. Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, the nineteenth century was to see the rise of hereditary functionaries (the fire-makers and war-leaders) whose offices were largely external to the asapanu system. During the nineteenth century, some of the authority initially vested in the gerontocracy was progressively transferred to these functionaries as their hereditary offices gained increasing importance. Therefore, while much of the following section dealing with the authority of the elders as derived from the asapanu system is universally applicable to the Jie historical experience, it is most explicitly relevant to the period under examination in this chapter: the late eighteenth century, when the authority enjoyed by the elders was considerably greater than in any subsequent era.

The structure of the Jie asapanu system, and some of the dynamics of its operation have already been discussed (Ch.II, above), but it is important to examine briefly the manner in which ritual and, to at least some extent, political power is exercised through that system. The Jie themselves see their asapanu system as means by which the more senior members of their community command the obedience and respect of the more junior members. Prior to my own initiation, Mabuc, my Jie "father", explained the purpose of the system in these words:



Asapanu ensures that young men will respect the elders (ngikaskou, s. ekaskout) and obey them. Without asapanu, young men would not always obey should their elders order them to do something, or to fetch something, or to slaughter oxen so that the elders may eat. Often, young men are not obedient, nor are they respectful. That is always the way with young men. Asapanu ensures that they will obey.<sup>1</sup>

It is only within the frame-work of the asapanu-system that men can achieve elderhood and the coincident respect and obedience of their juniors. Biological age in itself is not sufficient. As has already been described in Chapter II, above, the irrevocable generational principal upon which the Jie asapanu-system is based precludes some men from initiation until fairly late in life. While it is therefore common for such biologically mature and even elderly individuals (especially those somewhat "out of step" with their generation) to marry and beget children, to participate in warfare and generally to lead a largely normal social and domestic life prior to their ritual maturity, uninitiated men are, as Gulliver has noted, ngikaracuna ("adolescents"), regardless of their biological age, and are classed together with the female members of the community.<sup>2</sup>

1 Mabuc (Loputake), J-112.

2 Gulliver (1953), op.cit., p.148, also see p.165. Dyson-Hudson has also made very much the same point for the Karimojong, op.cit., p.181.

In my view, however, it is possible to overemphasise this point. While it is important to note that biological age, in itself, is an insufficient criterion for elderhood, it must be remembered that the Jie do have a definite notion of the "proper age" for initiation and that biological coevality plays an important role in the recruiting of all by the first and last age-sets of any given generation-set (see pp. 92-3 Ch.II, above). In the great majority of cases, therefore, there is a close correspondence between biological age and sociological age, as determined by the asapanu-system, i.e. most biologically senior men enjoy a correspondingly senior status within the asapanu-system.

1 Mabuc (Loputake) J-112.

Rather, seniority is achieved only within the context of the Jie, asapanu-system, by the men of a constituent set over time, as older and more senior sets die out and younger and more junior ones are initiated. At any given point in time, any given set can command respect and obedience from any and all sets junior to itself, and at the same time is expected to accord respect and obedience to any and all sets senior to itself. As the men of a given set advance in seniority, they are thought to "grow closer to God", and the authority which they steadily accrue is thought to be directly derived from this supernatural source. The surviving members of the most senior sets in existence at any point in time therefore command the greatest respect and obedience, in direct proportion to their closest proximity to God, and are considered the "true elders". Again, as I was instructed by my Jie "father":

The nganyameta (age-sets) of the oldest men have the most power. That is because they have grown close to God (Akui) over many years. They can truly bless the people. Even if they become foolish and speak like children, still they are wise, because they are the oldest nganyameta. Until they die, they are the most powerful.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted, then, that the Jie system is a truer gerontocracy than is the case with the class-systems based on time of many other East African societies. Other societies, including even the southern neighbours of the Jie, the Karimojong, whose asapanu-system seems in many other ways very close to the Jie, make it mandatory that elders "retire" once they achieve a given

3. Dyson-Hudson, *OR*, 2:13, pp. 188-93.

1 Mabuc (Lopatuke) J-112.



seniority within the frame-work of their system.<sup>1</sup> With the Jie, however, there is no such notion of "retirement" of elders, and they are highly critical of those societies, such as the Karimojong, who practice such "retirement".

As long as any members of the more senior generation-set survive, they are the "big elders"

When Karimojong elders become very old men they just stay at home and sleep. We don't do things that way. With us the oldest men - those of the most senior nganyameta - continue to lead the prayers and make decisions until they die. For the oldest men to be excluded would spoil everything. If elders are made to stay at home they become very sad and sleep all the time, and soon they die.<sup>2</sup>

"retired":

With the Karimojong, the retirement of the most senior elders takes place in a formal succession ceremony during which the final few survivors of the most senior generation-set relinquish their superior status and transfer authority and control to the members of their "sons" generation-set. At the same time, the generation-set of their "grandsons" comes into formal and corporate existence.<sup>3</sup> With the Jie, a somewhat similar ceremony takes place, again when membership in the most senior generation-set has dwindled to a relatively few aged survivors, and at roughly the same time that the "grandsons" generation-set is formally inaugurated. The great

only relative to a given situation. As Gulliver was noted, it some-

1. Dyson-Hudson, op.cit., pp. 193-4.

2. Kere and Meron J-64. My Jie research assistant was quite appalled on several occasions during our interviews among the Karimojong at the lack of respect shown by even fairly young men to some of the aged "retired" elders who served as my informants. Even I was keenly aware of this lack of respect, which was sometimes manifested by open ridicule of a senile elder. Nothing even vaguely similar was ever encountered amongst the Jie where even the most senile elders were held in great awe.

3. Dyson-Hudson, op. cit., pp. 188-93.

difference, however, is that while Karimojong elders relinquish their powers to the succeeding generation-set, the survivors of the senior Jie generation-set continue to wield authority even after their "sons" are elevated to elderhood: as long as any members of the more senior generation-set survive, they are the "big elders" or the "true elders". The "promotion" ceremony which raised the Ngimugeto generation-set to elderhood was performed by the surviving Ngikosowa a few years before my arrival in Najie, but informants universally stressed that the Ngikosowa survivors were in no way "retired":

It seems clear, then, that within the frame-work of the Jie

The ceremony to promote (akitopolor - to raise up) the Ngimugeto was held at about the same time that our grandsons, the Ngitome, began their initiations. The Ngikosowa and Ngimugeto went to Nayan (ritual grove) where many oxen were sacrificed. The Ngikosowa were on one side and the Ngimugeto on the other. Then the Ngikosowa blessed their sons (the Ngimugeto) and raised them up and told them, "Come! Sit here on this side with us. Be elders." But those Ngimugeto were not really able to do anything after this ceremony that they could not do before. The Ngikosowa still have the power (apedor), and we shall have it until we are all dead. The Ngimugeto must still ask our permission before they can do things.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, seniority with its coincident authority is often only relative to a given situation. As Gulliver has noted, it sometimes is possible for a man to be very senior within his own kinship group or neighbourhood and still be relatively junior within the frame-work of the asapanu-system as a whole, and it is common for the

- 1 Dodoi (Lokwangiro), Longoli (Apariong), and others, J-88. For their part, Ngimugeto informants always readily acknowledged that although they themselves were elders (ngikaskou) they were also "those in the middle", and that their "fathers", Ngikosowa, were still the "big people of the land".



members of the more senior nganyameta of a newly "promoted" generation-set to exercise an increasingly more active role in ritual leadership as the survivors of the final nganyameta of the older generation-set die out.<sup>1</sup> While the presence of the most senior elders is deemed imperative on the most important ritual and decision-making occasions (and indeed informants often spoke of feeble old men being literally carried to ceremonies on the backs of donkeys or young men), the leadership roles on relatively less important occasions frequently evolve to more junior men.<sup>2</sup>

It seems clear, then, that within the frame-work of the Jie

1 Gulliver (1953), op.cit., p.157.

2 Examples of this relative seniority were frequently observed during my own research. For instance, Lokong (Israel), the informant of J-36 and J-97, was present at several important ritual occasions where all the clans of Kotido territorial division were represented. On these occasions, Lokong who belongs to the Ngirengalem anyamet of the Ngimugeto asapanu, played no very great leadership role, as a number of surviving members of the final nganyameta of the Ngikosowa asapanu were always present and invariably assumed the leadership roles. On another ritual occasion, that of a lokidori finalisation of marriage ceremony performed exclusively by Lokong's own sub-clan, Mamukinei of Loser (recorded as J-Rit.-5), Lokong was accorded the primary leadership role due to the fact that he was the most senior man of his sub-clan, all of his more senior kinsmen having died.

The ease with which such leadership can be transferred to fit altered circumstances was demonstrated on another ritual occasion, a meeting of Kotido elders prior to the performance of a rain-making ceremony (recorded as J-Rit.-1). On this occasion, Kenye (Apeimaler), the informant of J-63, a member of the senior anyamet of the Ngimugeto assumed the leadership of the meeting and led most of the prayers until the tardy arrival of several members of surviving nganyameta of the more senior Ngikosowa. As they entered the ritual grove, Kenye broke off in the middle of a prayer and sat down, and the prayer was immediately taken up by the most senior of the arriving Ngikosowa, with hardly any pause.

1 Lokali, Lokali, and Abirei, J-35.

2 The only exception to this is with the first age-set of a new generation-set, who are naturally beaten by the last-initiated age-set of the senior generation-set.



asapanu-system respect and obedience is accorded to individuals in direct proportion to the degree of seniority they have achieved within that system, as increasing seniority implies an increasing proximity to God, and therefore an increasingly high degree of supernaturally-derived wisdom and authority. It is rather more difficult, however, to be entirely certain of the manner in which and the extent to which that respect and obedience is commanded by those senior members of the asapanu-system.

From the moment of their initiation, men are constantly and acutely aware of the authority and powers of those senior to themselves in the asapanu-system. While initiation confers an adult ritual status on initiates, the Jie themselves stress that initiation does not, in itself, imply any immediate increase in privilege, and indeed has rather the opposite effect:

Initiation puts people into classes. Before initiation, men are like women - they have no class. With initiation, men become the lowest class. There are no special privileges with initiation, only prohibitions. Before initiation, men can do things that women do, such as cooking with pots. After initiation a man is forbidden even to look into a cooking pot or to drink from a gourd when women are present.<sup>1</sup>

On the day of his initiation, an initiate is given a beating and driven from the *kraal* in which his initiation-ox is speared, not by members of the generation-set senior to himself, but merely by members of the immediately senior age-set of his own generation<sup>2</sup> in order to underline his lowly status. The junior status of the

1 Lobali, Lotukel, and Abiroi, J-35.

2 The only exception to this is with the first age-set of a new generation-set, who are naturally beaten by the last-initiated age-set of the senior generation-set.



pieces of meat being handed back to the junior men by their seniors.

of the initiate is further demonstrated symbolically during the roasting of his initiation animal. Grasping the left hind leg (episit) of the slaughtered animal, the initiate is directed to follow a prescribed course around the kraal during which each of the assembled nganyameta of his seniors is visited in turn, in order of increasing seniority, once again underlining his own very junior status, but symbolically predicting his own eventual rise in status, possibly even to the rank of "true" elderhood, if he lives long enough.<sup>1</sup>

Until an age-set junior to themselves is formed, the most recent initiates perform the more menial tasks on most ritual occasions.<sup>2</sup> They collect the fuel for the fire in which the sacrificial meat is cooked and the sorghum stalks which are arranged in a horseshoe shape in front of the seated groups of more senior nganyameta attending the ceremony. They are also given the task of roasting the meat in the open fire, a very hot and difficult job, made even more difficult by the nearly incessant badgering and orders hurled at them by all the senior nganyameta. On such occasions their obedience is constantly tested by senior men who give them minute shreds of meat to roast for them, the loss of which can cause a punishment to be meted out, not only to the offender himself, but to his entire anyamet collectively. On the other hand, patient obedience is sometimes rewarded with gifts of choice

1 A description of my own initiation is included as Appendix 7 at the end of this thesis.

2 Like seniority, however, an inferior status can, under certain circumstances, be a relative quality. There are, for example, some rituals in which the most junior nganyameta do not participate at all, and on such occasions nganyameta which normally enjoy a relatively senior status are reduced to the performance of the menial tasks usually carried out by the most recent initiates.



pieces of meat being handed back to the junior men by their seniors.

While the most junior men are thus playing their menial role during rituals, the most senior men demonstrate their supernaturally derived powers and their proximity to Akui by leading the prayers and in general supervising the ceremonies upon which the Jie rely for the well-being of their community. In accord with their high status, the senior men are accorded the majority of the meat from the sacrificial animal or animals, including the choicest and most ritually important pieces, leaving only a few far less desirable bits for the most junior men.

Because initiation confers adult ritual, as opposed to social, status, and because the authority of the elders is thus most readily discernable on ritual occasions, Gulliver has concluded (perhaps not without some justification) that the authority of Jie elders is almost entirely expressed within a ritual context. To Gulliver, Jie elders cannot be seen as a "council of rulers", and their authority cannot be seen to extend into the economic, political or judicial realms.<sup>1</sup> It can be noted, however, that even at present the authority of Jie elders is not confined exclusively to ritual occasions, but extends to other situations as well. In fact, the expression of the elders' authority is in some ways constant, especially in the regulation of privileges extended to junior nganyameta. Many of these privileges concern the wearing of certain headdresses and ornaments:

When the sons of an asapanu are initiated, that asapanu is usually given permission by their own fathers to grow their hair and to fashion the mudded headdress (emedot). You have seen the Ngimugeto wearing emedot, have you not? But their own sons, Ngitome, cannot wear emedot, but only atokot (a

<sup>1</sup> Gulliver (1953), op.cit., pp.163-4.





Plate XII (above): The elders of Panyangara division gathered at Nakwapua ritual grove for a ceremony. Many wear the emedot mudded headdress and baboon skin capes proper to their status in the asapanu system.

Plate XIII (below): A young man of the Ngitome asapanu wearing the red atokot hair bag proper to his status in the asapanu system.





headdress of woven fibres, dyed red, in the shape of a long bag). That is because they have not yet been given permission to wear emedot. The young men must obey the elders and wear only what they are told.<sup>1</sup>

Each asapanu wears only certain ornaments and feathers. For example, we Ngimigeto wore red feathers at first, but then our fathers, Ngikosowa, ordered us to stop wearing them and we obeyed. We asked them for their permission to wear black feathers, and finally they agreed. They also ordered us to stop wearing 'red iron' (copper) ornaments and told us to wear 'yellow iron' (brass). We are also forbidden to wear ivory bracelets. Our own sons, Ngitome, are presently wearing white feathers, as you know. Soon we shall order them to stop wearing them; and they will have to ask our permission to wear another colour.<sup>2</sup>

Such regulation of privileges also extends to the small wooden stools and head-rests carried by all Jie men. Men are strictly prohibited from sitting or resting on any stool belonging to a member of any asapanu senior to themselves, and offenders can be fined up to several oxen for using a prohibited stool.

Furthermore, it often seems impossible to draw any clear distinction between the authority of Jie elders which is expressed only within a ritual context, and that which transcends the ritual context and finds practical expression in some other, non-ritual, sphere.<sup>3</sup>

For example, when it comes time for the annual departure of the young men and the herds to the dry-season cattle-camps (ngauvoi) an

akiwodokin ceremony is performed by each territorial division in order to "free the cattle". In the ceremony, the most senior elders demon-

1 Loporon (Cila) and Munyes, J-94.

2 Mabuc (Loputuke), J-112. I was never satisfactorily able to determine if alternate Jie generation-sets ever adhered to the custom of wearing only brass and only copper ornaments, such as Dyson-Hudson (op.cit., p.157) describes for the Karimojong and J.G. Peristiany ("The Age-Set System of the Pastoral Pokot", *Africa*, XXI,3,1951,p.290) describes for the Pokot. In any case, the custom certainly does not seem to be followed by the Jie at present.

3 Cf. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (in Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, eds. African Political Systems, London, 1940, p.xxi), "In Africa it is often hardly possible to separate, even in thought, political office from ritual or religious office."



strate their ritual authority by supervising the ceremony and by lightly beating and spattering with clay the representatives of each clan as they pass through an improvised gate in a prescribed order (see Ch. II, above). While this authority is thus symbolically expressed within a ritual context, it can unquestionably be seen to extend into the economic sphere, viz. by effectively controlling the movement of livestock. In the words of Jie informants:

Before the young men go to the ngauyoi, an akiwodokin or akitowa ceremony is held. It is conducted by the oldest men (i.e., senior elders) who beat them and throw clay at them. This is to show that the oldest men have the power. They do this so that the young men will know they must return when the elders call them. When the rains come, they know they must come back with the cattle to feed the old people at the homesteads. Thus, it is the oldest men who decide how the cattle should move, even though they remain at the homesteads and do not go to the ngauyoi.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, there are indications that before the rise of the hereditary fire-makers and war-leaders during the nineteenth century (see Chapters VI and VII, below), the powers of elders, as derived from their senior status in the asapanu-system, were of considerable importance within the more purely judicial and political spheres. Some informants recalled, for instance, that the elders were once able to order the cessation of internecine quarrels:

Long ago, the elders could stop a fight merely by drawing a line in the sand and telling the young men who were fighting to sit down quietly on their own side of the line. In those days people obeyed the elders because they were greatly respected. They were much more respected and feared than is the Government nowadays. After the young men stopped fighting and sat down, the elders would take the case to the ekeworon (fire-maker), and, long ago, the elders could even judge the case themselves.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Lobalong (Joseph), Logwela (Gonye) and Lodon (Kapelinyong), J-40. According to other informants, including Lopor (J-38), this is reinforced by a clay-smearing ritual performed by individual Jie fathers, the actual owners of the cattle, for their own sons, the herdsmen.
- 2 Dodoi (Lokwangiro) and Longali (Apariong), J-88.



Plate XIV : An angola ceremony of Kotido division. Representative members of a clan, together with some of their livestock, are lightly beaten by a senior elder as they pass through an improvised "gate" of thorn bushes in their prescribed order.



Other informants stated that, before the rise of Lorian, the great Jie war-leader, in the late nineteenth century, military affairs were largely under the control of the elders:

In the time before Lorian, the war-leaders used to go to the elders to ask their permission to attack such and such a place. They would bring the elders gifts of tobacco, milk, or emuna (a mixture of honey and meat) so that the elders might bless them, saying, "Go! Let the enemy sleep. They will not see you until your army is already upon them." Ngimurok (diviners) did not play any important part in the preparations for war. It was the elders who were important. They were like gods. They decided which places to attack. They were the ones who smeared the warriors with light yellow clay.<sup>1</sup>

With the death of an ekeworon (fire-maker), it was the elders who chose his successor, a right which they continued to exercise even during the early and mid-nineteenth century when the importance and authority of the ngikeworok was at its height:

The old men - the elders - choose the new ekeworon. They come from every territorial division to looi (ritual grove) where they have a big meeting. When they have decided, the old men return to their own territorial divisions where they have their own ceremonies to announce to the people who has been chosen. And the people say, "Truly, our fathers have chosen wisely."<sup>2</sup>

There seems to be no question, therefore, that the authority and powers of the elders, although largely expressed in a ritual situation, were not confined exclusively to ritual matters, but were

1 Lohlong (Joseph), Logwela (Gonye) and Lodon (Kapelinyong), J-40.

2 Logwee, J-56. As suggested above, the Rengen ngikeworok most probably enjoyed considerable importance and authority well before the nineteenth century rise of the Ngikorwakol ngikeworok. Still, Rengen informants (including those of J-101 and J-108) agreed that even their ngikeworok were traditionally chosen by the elders.

fully understood why the fines of sacrificial oxen were considered harsh punishments, as in virtually all such cases the oxen legally belonged, not to the young men, but to their "fathers", the elders, who were administering the punishment. One is led to suspect that these oxen would be "deducted" from animals which were reserved as potential bride-wealth payments for the young men, thereby considerably postponing their marriages. However, this was never spontaneously offered as an explanation by any Jie informant.



of economic, judicial and political relevance as well. As to the manner in which the elders command the obedience and respect of their juniors, Gulliver has stressed that the elders, having grown close to God, rely upon supernatural sanctions to uphold their authority. In Gulliver's words, disobedience to the elders is "a sacrilege, with punishment from the High God",<sup>1</sup> and Jie informants agree that supernatural sanctions, in the form of curses (or, nearly as severe, the with-holding of blessings) were indeed an important means by which the elders traditionally have wielded their authority:

If the young men disobey the elders in any way, or if they refuse to return with the cattle from the ngauiyoi, the elders can curse them. If the young men are very disobedient, the elders can say to them, "Let all of you die! Let all of the cattle with you die."<sup>2</sup>

The informants were equally in agreement, however, that the elders also traditionally relied on other, more secular, sanctions to uphold their authority:

These days, it is the Government which forces the young men to return from the ngauiyoi. But in the past, it was the elders who ensured that they would return. It was the elders who ordered the young men to do all things. If the young men disobeyed their "fathers", they would be forgiven. If they disobeyed a second time, the elders could say to the age-mates of those disobedient ones, "Your brothers have disobeyed us!" The disobedient ones would then be beaten by their fellows and brought to the elders where they would kill another ox. And they would be forgiven. If even a third time they disobeyed, again they were beaten and killed yet another ox. But if they disobeyed again, the elders would let them go their own way, without blessings.<sup>3</sup>

1 Gulliver (1953) op.cit., p.161.

2 Lobalong (Joseph), Logwela (Gonye) and Lodon (Kapelinyong), J-40.

3 Alinga, Lowot, Lothigiria, and Narecom, J-41. It must be admitted that I never fully understood why the fines of sacrificial oxen were considered harsh punishments, as in virtually all such cases the oxen legally belonged, not to the young men, but to their "fathers", the elders, who were administering the punishment. One is led to suspect that these oxen would be "deducted" from animals which were reserved as potential bride-wealth payments for the young men, thereby considerably postponing their marriages. However, this was never spontaneously offered as an explanation by any Jie informant.



On some occasions, beatings and fines would be administered to only a single offender, but at other times an entire age-set was punished, in retribution for an offence committed by some or all of its members. Such group punishment was called ameto, and was usually meted out by a senior age-set of the same generation as the offenders, upon instruction from the elders:

In the past, if young men disobeyed the elders, or if they were rude, or if they sat on their elder's stools or 'stole' (wore) their ornaments, the elders would order them to be beaten and driven from the villages into the bush where they would remain until they got oxen to slaughter for the elders. This was ameto. The elders would usually order the next older anyamet to beat the anyamet of those who had done wrong. When I was young, my own anyamet, Ngimoru (of Ngikosowa), was beaten by Ngidewa (also of Ngikosowa). We feared them. Nowadays, ameto is not often done, because these young people of today sometimes run and tell the Government if they are beaten.<sup>1</sup>

The authority of the elders, then, as demonstrated with recourse to the physical sanctions of ameto, was clearly the underlying factor which brought about the largely accidental raid by the chastised Ngikok on the Kapwor herds. As already suggested above (p.297), the authority of the elders may well have been expressed in a military context following this raid, by giving organization and direction to a whole series of raids, now incapsulated by the one "Camkok tradition". In any case, such organization and direction was clearly

1 Lobalong (Joseph), J-130. A fairly close parallel to the Jie ameto appears to have existed in the whip fights between Iteso age-sets, as described by Lawrance (1957, op.cit., p.75) and A.C.A. Wright ("Notes on the Iteso Social Organization", U.J. IX, 1942, p.71). With the Iteso, however, these appear to have been more like ritual contests than group punishments.



provided by the elders in other military conflicts in the years following the Camkok raid, as will be shown in the following chapters.

The Camkok raid also demonstrates the important integrative function provided by the asapanu system. Membership in the asapanu system clearly cross-cut and transcended membership in the segmentary clans and territorial divisions, and on an occasion such as the Camkok raid, allowed a degree of socio-political cohesion sufficient for corporate participation by members of the seven Lokorwakol territorial divisions in the achievement of a common goal.<sup>1</sup> The exclusion of the Rengen Ngikok initiates, on the other hand, underlines the independent operation of each moiety's asapanu-system, and strongly suggests that such cohesion was practically expressed only on the moiety level, rather than on the level of the "Ngiro" community as a whole. Furthermore, although it would seem very likely that the Rengen asapanu system was, like the Lokorwakol system, an integrative factor, it can again be suggested that the cohesion which existed between the five Rengen divisions was more strongly derived from their more compact territorial organisation and, perhaps even more important, from their more powerful ngikeworok.

The traditions recall that shortly after the successful raiding of the Kapwor cattle, western Karamoja was beset by another terrible famine, caused by a prolonged drought similar in proportion and effect

1 See Gulliver (1953), *op.cit.* pp.166-8, for his discussion of the importance of the asapanu-system in the social integration of the Jie.



to the Nyamdere perhaps 80 years before.<sup>1</sup> Like the Nyamdere, this famine, remembered in Acoli tradition as the Laparanat, most seriously affected the more agricultural peoples along the Karamoja-Acholi borderland, and again like the Nyamdere, caused considerable population movement in that area.<sup>2</sup>

1. Jie traditions recall that the famine occurred after the Camkok raid, but still during the time of the Ngikok initiations, and so therefore sometime between about 1770 and 1800. Based on genealogies collected during his work in Eastern Acholi, Webster, in personal communication, estimated that the famine occurred sometime during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, and in the tables at the end of his "Acholi Historical Texts", estimated that the effects of the famine were being felt in eastern Acholi between 1787 and 1814. From genealogical reckonings made during his work with the Tepes, Weatherby, in personal communication, estimated that the famine occurred in the 1780's.

2. While the matter is far from clear, some groups may also have emigrated from Najie at this time. For example, Jie tradition recalls a group from Panyangara territorial division which went west to Awere in the Gulu area of Acholi, possibly because of some famine, although there was little agreement among Jie informants as to exactly when this move was made. Still, several reliable Jie and Labwor informants (including those of J-80, J-121 and L-11) indicated that they emigrated well after the Laparanat (though not so late as the "Great Disasters" at the end of the nineteenth century discussed in Chapter VII, below). Mr. Owor, A.D.C. of Jie county, himself a keen amateur historian from the Gulu area, informed me of Acoli traditions describing the arrival of this group from Panyangara, who became known to the Acoli as "Pu-Ranga" or "Aue" (from the verb "to rest", because they "rested in Labwor on their way"). However, Mr. Owor could give no very precise date for their arrival, other than to indicate that they had arrived at least by the time that Europeans first began to appear in the Gulu area. On the other hand, Mr. R. Atkinson who recently collected Acoli traditions in the Gulu area, informed me that in his view they arrived in Awere because of a famine some "five generations before 1900." Although I am uncertain as to what Atkinson takes to be a "generation", a date well before that is indicated by my informants seems implied.

Another band of Jie emigrants were the group now called "Pukwero" who settled just south of Ragem in western Acholi. According to Mrs. A. King ("The Development of Political Organisation on the Albert Nile: The Case of Koc-Ragem", an unpublished seminar paper presented at Nairobi, 1970, p.7), these Pukwero arrived from Najie "six generations" ago. Again, it is impossible to date this event, and I was unable to collect any reliable information about this group from any Jie informant. Still, the possibility that both the "Pu-Ranga" and "Pukwero" were groups displaced by the Laparanat cannot be totally ruled out.



One of the most badly affected of these western groups was the Kapwor who, with their cattle already lost to the Ngikok, now were faced with a total crop failure, and were forced to abandon their vast Kotidani sites:

The people at Tikidani had no root crops. Their food was grain, mainly sorghum. When the drought came all the sorghum died and the people were left with no food at all. The only thing they could do was to disperse and search for wild fruits. The Iseera who were there left first and went west towards Otukei. There they had another famine and they went on to Lango. Other people went to Paicam in Acoli. The Paibwor (clan) settled at Pajule near Kitgum (in Acholi), the Pajima settled at Labongo at Kitgum, and the Jo-langa settled at Gulu (in Acholi).<sup>1</sup>

The Ngiseera refugees from Kotidani, pushing westward through the Labwor Hills, are remembered to have joined with "other Ngiseera" (probably those who followed a different route from Najie to Otukei, see footnote 1, p. 291 above) and "Miro" (probably a group which branched off from the original Agricultural Paraniotic migration from the Southern Sudan, see p. 206 and Map 4, Ch. III, above) peoples whom they found living in the Mt. Otukei area already and, after a second famine (or perhaps really a continuation of the Laparanat), pushed further west into eastern Lango. Observers of the Lango, such as Driberg, Crazzolara, and more recently Tosh,<sup>2</sup> are in agreement that by about 1800 large numbers of proto-Lango immigrants were streaming westwards from Otukei into the eastern parts of the area

1 Okeo (Yonasan), L-11. The arrival in eastern Acholi of these Kapwor refugees from the Laparanat seems to be generally recalled in Acoli tradition; see for example Webster, "Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit., p.46, where a group of "Abwor now called Kalanga joined Paicam when Omongo was rwot.... (they) came from Lango Jie because of famine. They spoke both Acholi and their own language." It was further stated that Omongo or Labongo was the rwot of Paicam at the time of the Laparanat famine. (From Webster's "Acholi Historical Text, No.47").

2 Driberg, op.cit., p.31; Crazzolara (1960), op.cit., p.200; Tosh, op.cit., p.19.



which they now occupy, and it can be reasonably suggested that the catalyst which directly triggered off this immigration was the Laparanat and the consequent arrival at Otukei of considerable numbers of refugee Ngiseera and Kapwor from the populous Kotidani sites.

As previously indicated several times in this thesis, the Agricultural Paraniotes who thus pushed westwards out of Karamoja had already experienced very close Lwo contacts over a long period by the time of their emigration. Many of their groups were bi-lingual in both Lwo and Paraniotic dialects and almost all had developed an intensive agricultural specialisation. This picture is further supported by the traditions related by Tosh's Lango informants, which recalled that when their ancestors were in the Otukei area, they were already Lwo-speaking (although bilingualism was to continue to some extent after the movement westwards from Otukei) and that they knew of a variety of crops, many of which were unknown to the Jie and other peoples further east.<sup>1</sup> For more than a quarter of a century, scholars including Driberg, Tarantino, and Ogot<sup>2</sup> have sought to find a solution to the complex problems concerning the ethnic make-up of the Lango, and how, where, and when the Langi evolved their Lwo dialect and agricultural specialisation. The key to such problems must lie in first understanding the historical experience of the Lwo-influenced Agricultural Paraniotic groups who, streaming westwards out of Karamoja to escape the effects of the Laparanat, provided major elements of the emerging Lango. The solution to the Lango problems lie,

1 Tosh, Op.cit., p.15.

2 Driberg, op.cit., pp.23-32; Tarantino (1946), op.cit.; Ogot; op.cit., pp.48-62.

not in Lango, as most of the previous observers have thought, but rather east of Mt. Otukei, in western Karamoja.

Not all of the refugees from Kotidani emigrated west, however, and a few, desperate in the face of famine, fled to the east towards Najie. As with the Nyandere two generations before, Najie does not seem to have been as badly affected by the drought as the Acholi borderland. The balanced economy steadily evolved by the "Ngiro" community during its period of pioneering and settlement (see pp. 248-50, Ch. IV, above) protected its people from the worst effects of the famine, allowing them to rely on their livestock until sufficient rain returned for a sorghum crop to be planted. Still, the Laparanat undoubtedly caused considerable hardships for the people of Najie, and the reception given to the first of the Kapwor refugees was a hostile one indeed:

The famine was so great that some of the Kapwor were even forced to go to Najie where the sorghum was growing again. There the Jie killed them and stuffed their mouths with green sorghum, saying, "You see! Those people are thieves who came here to steal our grain, so let them eat it!"<sup>1</sup>

Of those Kapwor refugees who went due westwards from Kotidani, one fairly large group under a leader called Odanga stayed only briefly among the Eastern Acoli kingdoms before turning south and entering the Labwor Hills area:

The Kapwor and the Kalanga and the others of Tikidani were forced to disperse. There was no fighting at that time, but there was not enough food. The population of Tikidani was a very large one. Most of them went to Okec (Ruben), Angole, and Lojok, L-1.

1 Lokong (Israel) J-97.



Acholi and there is still a clan there called "Apwor". They were led there by Kapelo, who soon died, and his son, Odanga, brought many of the people here to Labwor. As Odanga's people came to Labwor from the north, some of the people who had been at Otukei began moving back to the east into Labwor. The two groups settled together here in the Labwor Hills. They were the ancestors (founders) of our people.<sup>1</sup>

As this tradition indicates, some of the people of the Otukei area did not move westwards into Lango, but ebbed back to the east. Of these, a number remained in the Labwor Hills, while others, including part of the Ngiseera and Loposa groups of Agricultural Paraniotes who had abandoned central Najie to the Koton strangers nearly a century before (see p. 226, Ch. IV, above) marched through the Labwor Hills back towards Najie. Most of the Ngiseera made for the Kotidani sites, while most of the Loposa seem to have again passed to the south. By this time the drought which had caused the Laparanat was over and the worst effects of the famine had passed. The Ngiseera who attempted to re-establish themselves at Kotidani, however, found that the area had been occupied by others during their sojourn at Otukei:

At Otukei, the Ngiseera split up. Most went west to Serer (Lango), but others, together with some of the Loposa, turned again towards Najie. When they came again to Kotidani they found that Acoli people had settled there while they (the Ngiseera) were at Otukei.<sup>2</sup>

As this tradition indicates, these newcomers were western people,

- 1 Oceng (Petro) and Ogwang (Wokoruo), L-7. Both informants were men in their 70's and indicated that the grandfathers of their fathers were alive at this time. If, like the Jie, a Labwor generation can be reckoned at approximately 40 years, a date in the very early years of the nineteenth century is indicated. Even if as few as 30 years are estimated for a generation, a date no later than about 1830 is indicated. Okidi (Simei), the informant of L-10, and a man in his 40's, claims to be a direct agnatic descendant of Odanga, who he states was the grandfather of his grandfather. On two separate occasions Okidi (who seemed a reliable informant) provided exactly the same list of his ancestors back to Odanga.
- 2 Lokong (Israel) J-97.



basically Lwo in ethnic as well as linguistic affiliation, from the kingdoms of eastern Acholi, who had fled to the east after an internecine quarrel in their eastern Acholi homeland and had arrived in the Kotidani area, recently vacated by the Kapwor:

My ancestors belonged to the Acoli clan Pajimu. There was a dance at which one of my ancestors killed a member of the Komongo group (of the Acoli), and the Komongo took revenge by killing two of our people. Our people retaliated, killing 10 Komongo. Then they ran away to the east to Kotidani, and when they saw the Ngiseera or Miir coming from the west, they joined with them..... We have now become the Ngikaloding sub-clan of Sinotoi, but we were originally Acoli people. Even now our ngitalia include a song to remind us of our Acoli ancestors:

Eur, eur, Katapa	Smelling, smelling (of) Katapa
Ngokosi kinei, eur Katapa	Our goats, smelling (of) Katapa
Ngakosi tuk, eur Katapa	Our cattle, smelling (of) Katapa

When we sing of "Katapa", it refers to Acoli. We still use sim-sim to entice our new-born babies to suckle, as did our Acoli ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

The Ngiseera and the Acoli newcomers were almost immediately joined by another Lwo group which arrived at Kotidani from the west. These people, having suffered considerably during the Laparanat in their eastern Acholi homelands, appear to have been searching for a new land in which to settle:

My clan is now called "Kapor" because it was once settled at Tikidani. Originally my ancestors came from Paicam in Acholi. They were driven by hunger from Acholi to Tikidani where they found the Ngiseera, who had arrived there from the west, and people called "Kapor" (the Acoli group described in the preceding tradition), who had come from Acholi. The older Ngiseera could speak a language like Ajie, which was their original language, but their young people were all speaking Acoli. Our people joined those at Tikidani, and we became known as "Kapor" too. The people lived all over the Tikidani area, but the Ngiseera

1 Lokoc (Lomorumoe), and others, J-49 and J-96.



stayed on one side and the people who had come from Acholi stayed on the other. Both groups got their water from the Tikidani wells.<sup>1</sup>

Although the traditions are rather vague as to the reason, this new population did not remain long at Kotidani, but began moving again towards the east and Najie.<sup>2</sup> Most Jie informants agreed that this move was undertaken after the Ngisiroi generation-set, or even more specifically the Ngimadanga age-section of Ngisiroi, had begun their initiations. Reference to Figure 3, Ch.II, above, shows that the second age-section of Ngisiroi would have been initiating from about 1810, and so the worst effects of the Laparanat were by this time probably at least a decade in the past, and normal conditions once again prevailed in Najie. The migrants soon encountered Jie ngauyoi which had moved west to occupy the former grazing lands of the dispersed Kapwor. Unlike the reception given to the Kapwor starvelings who had arrived in Najie some years earlier when the effects of the Laparanat were still very much in evidence, these Ngiseera and Acoli immigrants were well received, first by the ngauyoi and finally by even the settled population of Najie. The Ngiseera were welcomed by their cousins who had

1 Akejan, J-71. There was obviously a tendency for the Jie to refer to any inhabitants of the Kotidani area as "Kapwor". The name apparently was even applied to a group of Jie famine refugees who settled there at the end of the nineteenth century, and it must be noted that at least during the earlier stages of my field-work, I found the references to so many obviously different "Kapwor" groups very confusing. Nevertheless, the picture became increasingly clearer as my work progressed, and I am quite certain that none of the "Kapwor" or "Kapor" referred to in the traditions cited in this chapter can be confused with the later "Jie Kapwor".

2 Most traditions list "hunger" or a "lack of water" for the move, and it would seem possible that the last effects of the Laparanat may have still been felt in the west. Other traditions claim that the move was caused by Acoli attacks, but it is very likely that these traditions were confusing these "Kapwor" with the Jie famine refugees of nearly 100 years later, who most certainly did experience conflicts with the Acoli.



remained behind in Najie and had become the Loser clan of Kotido (see pp. 226 and 256, Ch. IV, above), while the Loposa returned to their previous homes in what had become Komukuny territorial division, Jie community. Unlike the earlier "Ngikatape", the Kenger, who where they joined with the numerically small Lodera, a clan of Koten-Magos origin. Even the arrival of Acoli "Kapwor", who had no previous ties with Najie, was at least tolerated by the Jie. Most of them went to the northern foot of Mt. Toror where they settled at Nacekemeleru, Kalosoric, and Locarangikapor on the periphery of the Panyangara settlements clustered near the Lokibuwo deep wells.<sup>1</sup> From their Toror homes, the newcomers gradually strived to forge a closer relationship with the Panyangara. In one instance, a whole group of these Acoli Kapwor soon joined with their Panyangara neighbours:

After the Kapwor came from Kotidani to Nacekemeleru, some came to Lokibuwo where they joined with the Loperdu, the same people who had first discovered the water at Lokibuwo.<sup>2</sup>

In other instances, individual Kapwor made an independent effort for closer integration with the Jie:

A Kapwor might become friends with a Jie and perhaps go with his friend to raid the cattle of some enemy. Those cattle would be used to build up his (the Kapwor's) herd, and with them he could marry Jie wives. That is how the Kapwor came to be Jie.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Some also are remembered to have settled for a time at Nyanga, an isolated peak just south of Toror. It was probably a branch of the Nyanga group which eventually formed the Kapwor clan of the Karimojong, although my enquiries among the Karimojong never satisfactorily proved that this was so.
- 2 Lothike (Eluwa), J-131. It seems possible that the Loperdu, who were of Agricultural Paranilotic origin (see pp. 226 and 257 Ch. IV, above), may have appeared rather less alien to the Kapwor than the Panyangara clans of Koten-Magos origin.
- 3 Dodoi (Lokwangiro), J-89.

There is still a variety of sheep in Labwor and eastern Acholi with considerably longer tails than the common Jie variety. Some informants claimed that maize was also introduced by the Kotidani immigrants, but rather were of the opinion that maize was introduced by caravan traders at the end of the nineteenth century. Informants were generally



The Acoli Kapwor and the Lwo-influenced Ngiseera clearly injected yet another western "Katapa" element into the emerging Jie community. Unlike the earlier "Ngikatapa", the Rengen, who had formed their own largely separate and independent moiety, these immigrants diffused themselves amongst several of the Lokorwakol territorial divisions which had previously been mainly composed of Koten-Magos clans.<sup>1</sup> The Kotidani immigrants brought with them a variety of western animals and crops, previously unknown, or at least little used, in Najie:

When those "Miro" (Ngiseera and Loposa) returned here from the west with those Kapor, they spoke both Ajie and akibinibini (Lwo). They brought with them the first dens and a new type of sheep with long tails. They also knew of many new crops: sim-sim, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, and cow-peas, which they began planting in Najie. Before this time, the Jie had only sorghum, ngadekele (a kind of pumpkin), and cucumbers.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, both the Ngiseera and the Acoli immigrants were skilled in an art not practiced by any of the Jie, but which was quickly abandoned once they settled amongst the Jie:

1 Most Rengen informants agreed that the western immigrants were assimilated only by the Lokorwakol and not by the Rengen territorial divisions. Still, the two Rengen clans, Ratai and Lotuko, are often collectively called "Kapwor" and some Rengen informants (including those of J-50) expressed their belief that these "Rengen Kapwor" were part of the immigrant group which arrived in Najie after the Laparanat. Obviously, there is considerable difficulty with this interpretation, as one of the Rengen clans, Ratai, was the original ekeworon clan, and so therefore must have been part of the original "Ngikatapa" immigration after the Nyamdere. It may be that the Ratai and Lotuko were inhabitants of the Kotidani area before coming to Najie in the early eighteenth century, and this would certainly account for the name "Kapwor". However, the data are insufficient to draw any definite conclusions.

2 Lokoc (Lomorumoe) and Arini, J-96. There is still a variety of sheep in Labwor and eastern Acholi with considerably longer tails than the common Jie variety. Some informants claimed that maize was also introduced by the Kotidani immigrants, but rather more were of the opinion that maize was introduced by caravan traders at the end of the nineteenth century. Informants were generally



When they were at Tikidani, both the Ngiseera and the Kapor of Acholi knew how to make iron. Have you not seen their smelting furnaces there? The Ngiseera could make iron when they came to Tikidani from the west (from Otukei) - the Kapor did not teach them. When the people left Tikidani to come to live in Najie, they stopped making iron. When they were at Tikidani they had no cattle, but when they came to Najie, they acquired cattle and therefore stopped making iron.<sup>1</sup>

The case of the Kotidani immigrants was paralleled by that of some of the pre-existing Agricultural Paraniotic groups of Najie, absorbed during the Jie genesis during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Like the Kotidani peoples, some of the earlier Agricultural Paraniotic inhabitants of Najie are recalled to have originally possessed the art of iron smelting, but to have abandoned it when they were assimilated into "Jie" society with its emerging balanced economy, in which transhumant pastoralism played so important a role. It was soon discovered that the management of transhumant herds and a permanent forge was exceedingly difficult:

At first some of the people of Najie could make their own iron, but then they stopped. They found that a man cannot work bellows if he is herding cattle.<sup>2</sup>

For their part, the Koton-Magos peoples were never iron-makers (see pp. 155-6 and 160, Ch. III, above). It is difficult to be certain of exactly when the Koton-Magos peoples were first introduced to iron

Footnote 2 continued from previous page

in agreement that some kinds of millet also came from the west, but did not specifically indicate the Kotidani immigrants as the group which introduced them. Other informants stated that the sizes of Jie gardens considerably increased after the arrival of the immigrants.

1 Akajan, J-71.

2 Longok (Erisa), J-1. It would also seem rather unlikely that Najie at any time in the discernable past had many trees of sufficient size to produce the necessary charcoal for any kind of intensive smelting activity.



implements, but the first recollections of iron in their oral traditions is that which was obtained while they were still concentrated in the Koten-Magos area from the Agricultural Paraniotic Ngieyan of Mt. Orom.<sup>1</sup> According to their own traditions, the Ngieyan claim that they were the original iron-smelters in northern and central Karamoja, and that they were responsible for teaching other Agricultural Paraniotic groups the art.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, other groups of iron-makers in Karamoja, including the Labwor, have traditions which admit that they learned smelting from the Ngieyan.<sup>3</sup>

Be this as it may, just prior to their early eighteenth century dispersal at Koten, the proto-Jie elements of the Koten-Magos group were obtaining iron from other Agricultural Paraniotic groups which had arrived on the Nangol Apalon River from the west as a part of the "Ngikatapa" exodus from the Nyamdere (see p. 222 ChIV, above). Other Jie traditions claim that the Koten-Magos peoples were obtaining iron from the west even well before their dispersal:

1 Interviews including J-109, J-124, T-14, BK-5, BK-7 and BK-8.

2 Lokidi (Antonio), Y-1.

3 Okeo (Yonasun) and Opio (Eria), L-11. Other Labwor informants (including those of L-7 and L-8), while not specifically stating that the art was learned from the Ngieyan, admitted that Agricultural Paraniotic clans of the Labwor and Ngieyan were together at Orom, where they both made iron, before the Labwor clans pushed on to the south.

The Nyakwai also seem to have learned smithing from the Ngieyan. A tradition known in several Karamoja societies (and related to me in BK-8, Y-1, NY-1 and 2, and L-3, 4 and 6) claims that the Nyakwai were first taught iron-making by a man called "Onyang" who came to the Nyakwai Hills from Mt. Orom.

1 Mabuc (Loputuka), J-83.



trade. Although a few small deposits of rather inferior iron ore existed When the people were at Koten, the Ngiseera or Ngimiro lived here in Najie. They were iron-making people and so the people of Koten used to obtain spears and other things from them.<sup>1</sup>

During the evolution of the "Jie" community and its occupation seem to have made use of the Mt. Toror ore, although the mountain and settlement of Najie during the latter part of the eighteenth century its mines came firmly under the control of the Jie during their occupation and settlement of Najie during the latter part of the eighteenth century. The Panyangara territorial division of the Ngikowakol established itself at the southern base of the mountain and the northern foot of western supplier of iron was the emerging Labwor community, a heterogeneous collection of Agricultural Paraniotic clans, influenced to in which the largest iron deposits were located. However, the various degrees by their contacts with the Lwo, with a leavening of of the Panyangara and some of the other Ngikowakol divisions ranged elements which were Lwo in ethnic as well as linguistic affiliation the plains between the Labwor hills and Toror. Their control over the (see p. 309, above). Many of those who settled in the Labwor Hills raw material insured that the Jie would be the favored customers of were skilled smelters and smiths, and because the Labwor economy, Labwor smiths, a fact which was to be of vital importance during unlike that of the Jie, was based almost exclusively on sedentary cultivation, the emerging Labwor found it quite convenient to maintain the Jie fight for survival during the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century (see the following chapters). The Jie were the best iron smelting permanent forges, which could be readily supplied with the charcoal (or perhaps timber) to smelt the ore. It was always obtainable from the forests which covered many of the hills. Except the Labwor who regularly sent missions to the Jie to the mountain. In for the Camkok raid against the Kapwor and the hostile reception given second with the friendly relations growing up between the two peoples, to the first of the Laparanat refugees described above, Jie relations the Jie who from the latter part of the eighteenth century occupied the with all the various western elements from which the Labwor community Labwor route to the mountain made the miners' journey as easy as possible; derives were basically good. After Laparanat, relations between the Jie and Labwor steadily improved until a close inter-dependence and co-operation grew up between the two peoples. The Labwor would often spend the night with their Jie friends on their way to and from the mountain.

Undoubtedly, the basis of this close relationship was the iron

1 Okidi (Simel), 1-10.

1 Mabuc (Loputuka), J-85.



trade. Although a few small deposits of rather inferior iron ore existed in the Labwor Hills, the largest deposits of good quality ore in Central Karamoja were located at Mt. Toror. From an early date (probably at least by the mid-eighteenth century), the Labwor seem to have made use of the Mt. Toror ore, although the mountain and its mines came firmly under the control of the Jie during their occupation and settlement of Najie during the latter part of the eighteenth century. The Panyangara territorial division of the Ngikorwakol established itself at the Lokibwo deep wells and the northern foot of Toror, just below the mouth of the great central valley of the mountain in which the largest iron deposits were located. Moreover, the ngauyoi of the Panyangara and some of the other Ngikorwakol divisions ranged the plains between the Labwor Hills and Toror. Their control over the raw material insured that the Jie would be the favoured customers of Labwor smiths, a fact which was to be of critical importance during the Jie fight for survival during the second half of the nineteenth century (see the following chapters). The Jie never had the inclination (or perhaps the ability) to mine the ore themselves, and it was always the Labwor who regularly sent mining parties up into the mountain. In accord with the friendly relations growing up between the two peoples, the Jie who from the latter part of the eighteenth century occupied the Labwor route to the mountain made the miners' journey as easy as possible:

The Jie never charged us any tolls to pass through their country or to dig at the mountain. The Labwor would always have many friends among the Jie and they would often spend the night with their Jie friends on their way to and from the mountain.<sup>1</sup>

1 Okidi (Simei), L-10.

Toror itself was uninhabited, except for a band of Fringe when the smiths felt skicwan, (literally, "a need for meat"), for Cushitic-speaking Tepes who occasionally came from their settlements at Nyanga peak south of Toror to camp in the caves high up the mountain. The standard price of a spear was a he-goat, while a large bull or ox would fetch an axe, a cow-bell and four spears, or as many as ten of the long chains which the Jie used as ornaments or to make the public aprons worn by unmarried Jie girls.<sup>1</sup> As the rates of exchange indicate, young or female animals were seldom traded and it was more usual for male or barren female animals, extraneous to the generative functions of the Jie herds, but sufficient to satisfy the Labwor skicwan, to be exchanged.<sup>2</sup> Although every Labwor clan seems to have included both smelters and smiths, some individuals were more intensively engaged in the manufacture of iron goods than others, and by the late eighteenth century at least some kept a ready stock of iron-ware on hand for their Jie customers: early European visitors believed that the two peoples were historically one tribal group, despite the disparity in the two peoples. There were some men who were especially expert in making spears and other iron goods. These lived almost entirely by their skill. They always kept a number of spears or hoes or axes on hand in their homes where the Jie could come and choose the things they wanted.<sup>3</sup>

Some people have said that the Jie and Labwor are brothers. Other Labwor blacksmiths would make itinerant journeys to Najie, the Jie have always come to us for their iron. Because of hawking their wares from settlement to settlement. Such journeys, however, were apparently undertaken only rather intermittently, especially

And in the words of the Jie:

- 1 Okec (Ruben) and others, L-1. In April, 1970, an investigation of some of the northern slopes of Toror was made and I was shown a number of habitation sites which my Jie guides claimed were once inhabited by Labwor smiths. to trade axes for spears and cow-bells, and the Toror have come to that "mountain of iron"
- 2 Ongom (Justo) and Kiyonga (Matayo), L-3.

1 Interviews including L-2, L-3, J-33 and J-34.

2 A short vocabulary of Labwor words concerned with iron and its manufacture is included as Appendix C, at the end of this thesis.

3 Ogira (Gebelayo) and others, L-4.



(Tobur) with leather sacks to gather the iron rocks, when the smiths felt ekicwan, (literally, "a need for meat"), for livestock was the chief commodity exchanged by the Jie for the iron-ware. The standard price of a spear was a he-goat, while a large bull or ox would fetch an axe, a cow-bell and four spears, or as many as ten of the long chains which the Jie used as ornaments or to make the public aprons worn by unmarried Jie girls.<sup>1</sup> As the rates of exchange indicate, young or female animals were seldom traded, and it was more usual for male or barren female animals, extraneous to the generative functions of the Jie herds, but sufficient to satisfy the Labwor ekicwan, to be exchanged.<sup>2</sup>

The commerce was extremely important to both parties and the inter-relationship which resulted from it was so close that by the early twentieth century many early European visitors believed that the two peoples were historically one tribal group, despite the disparity in their languages and economies. In the words of Labwor informants, however:

Some people have said that the Jie and Labwor are brothers. In fact, both groups have always been separate tribes, but the Jie have always come to us for their iron. Because of iron, the two tribes became friends, until finally they agreed to become even like brothers.<sup>3</sup>

And in the words of the Jie:

The Tobur (Labwor) have always been there in their hills. They were not with us. But over the years, the Jie have always gone to the Tobur to trade oxen for spears and cow-bells, and the Tobur have come to that "mountain of iron"

- 1 Interviews including L-2, L-3, J-33 and J-34.
- 2 A short vocabulary of Labwor words concerned with iron and its manufacture is included as Appendix 6, at the end of this thesis.
- 3 Ogira (Jebedayo) and Oceng, L-4.

## DEVELOPMENT

With such a close inter-relationship ensuring that Jie demands



## CHAPTER VI

## DEVELOPMENTS OF THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. The Jimos and the Rise of the Ngikeworok.

During the first part of the nineteenth century, the hereditary fire-makers (ngikeworok, s. ekeworon) of the Lokorwakol moiety achieved a new importance. This was accomplished through the replacement of the old ekeworon clan, Toroi, by a new clan of hereditary fire-makers, Jimos of Losilang. With the succession of the Jimos, the office of ekeworon became an important focus for the closer integration of the still largely independent territorial divisions of the Lokorwakol moiety. To examine the rise of the ngikeworok, we must first direct our attention back to Loyale, the Toroi ekeworon who had succeeded his illustrious father, Orwakol, just after the middle of the eighteenth century (see p. 254, Ch. IV, above). Loyale probably died just before the expulsion of the Toposa by the Dodos and the subsequent Laparanat famine described in the preceding chapter. Very little concerning Loyale has been passed down by the Jie oral traditions, and it can be reasonably concluded that he lacked the charisma which had so distinguished his father. In fairness, however, it must be remembered that while Orwakol was the ekeworon of a territorially compact group settled near Daidai, Loyale was ekeworon to a community of pioneers whose energies were being directed towards the occupation and settlement of areas further and further afield from Daidai and Kotiang, "the home of Orwakol". Although not entirely certain, the name of Loyale's son and successor was prob-

ably Lowatamoe.<sup>1</sup> Like Loyale, Lowatamoe submitted himself to a ritual test in order to prove his succession over a number of rival Toroi claimants: territorial division was engaged in, a very serious step, and one can

only conclude that an intra-clan struggle had developed among the Toroi. Lowatamoe was selected as ekeworon in this way: several men of Toroi all claimed to be the new ekeworon, and so each had to smear his sandals with fat and leave them outside his homestead at night. During the night, hyenas came and ate all the sandals except those of Lowatamoe ... The next morning the people came and said, "Truly, we have found our new ekeworon."<sup>2</sup>

Soon after his succession, however, the son of Loyale with his branch of the Toroi clan left Kotiang and, travelling some miles south, established himself in Kanawat territorial division. The move from Kotiang to Kanawat is almost universally remembered by the Ngikorwakol,

- 1 The blame for this uncertainty lies more with me than with Jie oral tradition. Because a few Jie informants (including Ilukol, J-55) claimed that Loyale's successor was one Cukamoe, I very incorrectly assumed that the names Cukamoe and Lowatamoe referred to the same man. The testimonies of a number of reliable Jie informants which very clearly indicated that Cukamoe lived two generations after Loyale failed to make a sufficient impression on me during my fieldwork, and it was only during the analysis of my data after my return from Uganda that I finally realized that Cukamoe was the grandson of Loyale. Much to my consternation I also realized that Loyale's son and Cukamoe's father must have been Lowatamoe, an individual whom I had almost totally ignored in my questioning. Fortunately, several good Jie informants provided spontaneous traditions relating to Lowatamoe and so at least some information concerning this important figure was recorded.
- 2 Looru (Sampson), Nangiro, and Lothike (Elawa), J-52. It is well worth noting the interchange which elicited this information. To my question, "Can you tell me any traditions regarding Cukamoe, the son of Loyale?" the informants replied, "Cukamoe? No, you mean Lowatamoe. Haven't the Kanawat told you of Lowatamoe?" As noted above, however, this was one of the occasions where I wrongly assumed that "Lowatamoe" was merely another name for Cukamoe.

While the view is largely impressionistic, a certain coherence between the Kotiang and Kanawat Toroi traditions seems discernible and now. Certainly the sub-branch of the Kanawat Toroi which returned to Kotiang two generations ago (see p. 11, Ch. II, above) has yet to be fully re-integrated by the Kotiang.



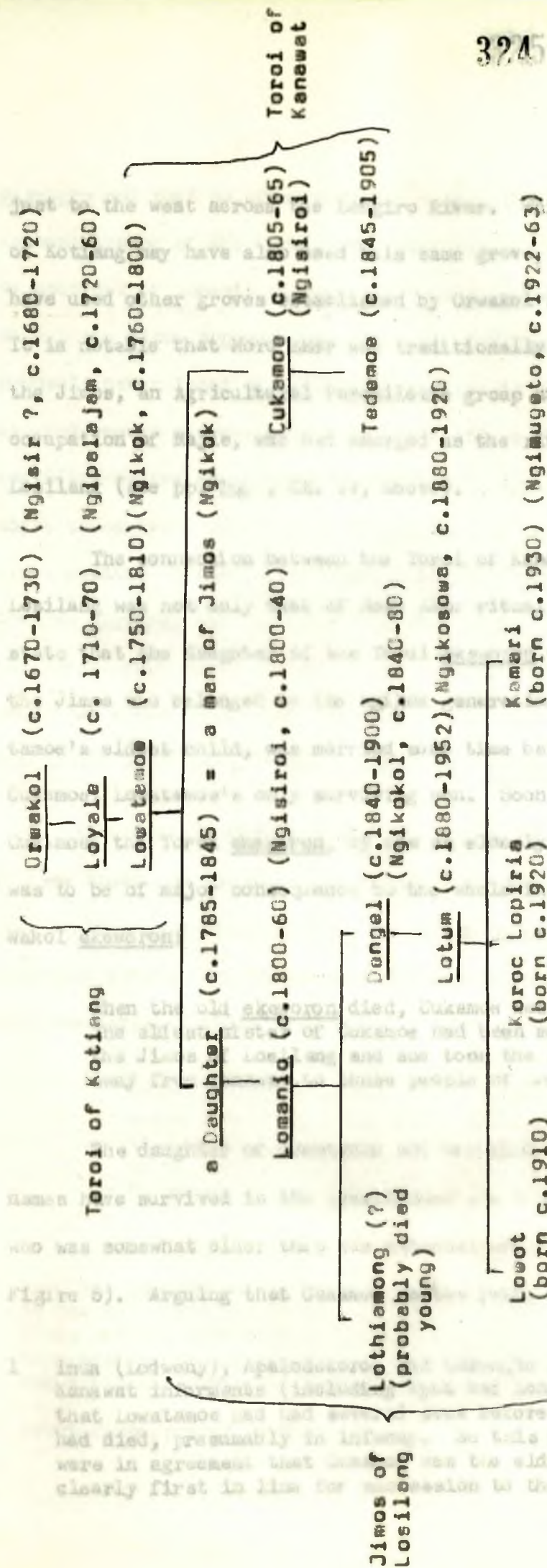
but not a single tradition suggested any reason for it. To have abandoned "the home of Orwakol" and to have established residence in a new territorial division was unquestionably a very serious step, and one can only conclude that an intra-clan quarrel had developed amongst the Toroi, possibly stemming from some ill-feeling over the succession. This view would seem to be supported by the fact that the office of hereditary asapanu-leader was retained by the Toroi branch which remained in Kotiang, although prior to this the office of ekeworon and asapanu-leader were always held by the same man.<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing in the traditions which suggests that the Lokorwakol office of ekeworon underwent any major changes after the move from Kotiang to Kanawat. Lowatamoe, like all of his Koten-Magos predecessors (with the notable exception of Orwakol) clearly appears to have been solely a respected ritual functionary whose duties and powers did not extend beyond his performance of the ceremonies in which he was the acknowledged specialist. It is very likely that Lowatamoe would have been called upon to perform the New Fire ritual at least once during the Laparanat, but no specific recollection of such an event appears to have been retained in the traditions. The traditions do specifically recall that whenever the Kanawat ngikeworok performed the New Fire ritual, it was at Moru Eker ritual grove in the south-western corner of Losialng territorial division, not far from Daidai, which lay

- 1 The descendant of these Kotiang Toroi asapanu-leaders, Koroc Lokepon, who was himself the first initiate of the Ngimugeto asapanu, claimed that his ancestor (possibly a man called Mamkong) who was the first of the Kotiang asapanu-leaders after the departure of the ekeworon to Kanawat submitted himself to a ritual test much like those which determined the ekeworon succession (J-73).

While the view is largely impressionistic, a certain coolness between the Kotiang and Kanawat Toroi branches seems discernable even now. Certainly the sub-branch of the Kanawat Toroi which returned to Kotiang two generations ago (see p. 61, Ch. II, above) has yet to be fully re-integrated by the Kotiang.





NOTE: The dates of the various ngikeworok in this diagram are, of course, only approximate. Lading concrete data, a life-span of 60 years is assigned to each skeworon and a 30-35 year span is estimated between each man and his father. While this is regrettably arbitrary, it should be noted that this system invariably places an skeworon within the span of the initiations of the esapanu to which the traditions state he belonged. Therefore, the margin of error is probably not too great in any case.



just to the west across the Longiro River. While the ngikeworok of Kotiang may have also used this same grove, they also seem to have used other groves established by Orwakol himself in Kotiang. It is notable that Moru Eker was traditionally the ritual centre of the Jimos, an Agricultural Paranilotic group assimilated during the occupation of Najie, who had emerged as the ritual specialists of Losilang (see pp. 256, Ch. IV, above).

The connection between the Toroi of Kanawat and the Jimos of Losilang was not only that of Moru Eker ritual grove. The traditions state that the daughter of the Toroi ekeworon was married by a man of the Jimos who belonged to the Ngikok generation-set. The girl, Lowatamoe's eldest child, was married some time before the birth of Cukamoe, Lowatamoe's only surviving son. Soon after the birth of Cukamoe, the Toroi ekeworon, by now an elderly man, died. His death was to be of major consequence to the whole institution of the Lokorwakol ekeworon:

When the old ekeworon died, Cukamoe was only a young boy. The eldest sister of Cukamoe had been married by a man of the Jimos of Losilang and she took the New Fire ritual away from Kanawat to those people of Losilang.<sup>1</sup>

The daughter of Lowatamoe and her Jimos husband (neither of whose names have survived in the traditions) had a son of their own, Lomanio, who was somewhat older than his maternal uncle, Cukamoe (see accompanying Figure 6). Arguing that Cukamoe was too young to perform the duties of

1 Inua (Lodweny), Apalodokoro, and Lomongin (Julio), J-128. Other Kanawat informants (including Apua and Lonying, J-114) indicated that Lowatamoe had had several sons before Cukamoe, but that all had died, presumably in infancy. Be this as it may, informants were in agreement that Cukamoe was the eldest surviving son and clearly first in line for succession to the office of ekeworon.

ekeworon and that no other suitable candidates existed amongst the Kanawat branch of the Toroi, the Jimos claimed that the succession should be accorded to Lomanio through his mother, Lowatamoe's eldest child. Although the Jimos argument was obviously a flimsy one, the Lokorwakol had probably never faced any similar situation in the past, and the Jimos secured enough support from the senior elders for Lomanio to be formally installed as the new ekeworon. The Toroi, apparently still divided amongst themselves, were unable to present any unified opposition to the Jimos claims. Although the Kanawat division duly selected Cukamoe as the new ekeworon and installed him in a ceremony of their own, the office had irrevocably passed to the Jimos, and although his father seems to have served as a kind of regent for some years, Lomanio was regarded by virtually all of the Lokorwakol as their new ekeworon.<sup>1</sup>

With the succession of the Jimos line of ngikeworok, the office of Fire Maker and the New Fire ritual underwent some important changes. Like their hengen counterparts, the Jimos ngikeworok began to perform an important ritual role in the annual agricultural cycle by which they in fact demonstrated their regulation of that cycle:

When planting time came, the people of all the Lokorwakol territorial divisions would gather at Lomukura to ask the ekeworon's permission to begin sowing. If he decided the time was right, he would bless them by smearing them with clay.<sup>2</sup>

1. Aemye (Apamaler), J-83.

2. The name Lomanio means "he who pretends" and it is of course tempting to see an equivalent to the English "Pretender" or "Usurper". Still, I was never satisfactorily convinced that the Jie assigned specifically that meaning to the name, and it would seem rather likely that Lomanio was given his name well before he became the ekeworon.

2. Lowot (Lomugereng), J-99.

3. Longoa (Laria), J-86.

4. Loru (Lampson) and others, J-82.



in the Having given his blessing to the people, the ekeworon would bless the seeds, which implied his permission for planting to begin:

The ekeworon would bless the sorghum seeds and then distribute them to the territorial divisions, saying "Go now, and plant your gardens." <sup>1</sup>

At harvest time, the first of the new grain and the first brew of beer was brought to the ekeworon to taste:

When the new sorghum was ripe, people from each territorial division would bring the ekeworon baskets of grain and he would be the first man to taste a handful of each division's grain. In the same way, the first of the new beer would be brought, and he would take the first sips.<sup>2</sup>

The Jimos ngikeworok furthermore adhered to a number of strict food prohibitions, apparently not observed by their Toroi predecessors:

The ngikeworok of the Jimos could not eat the meat of cattle which had died of natural causes - only those which were slaughtered for rituals. They could eat only the grain which was grown in Najie, and none from the outside.<sup>3</sup>

The ngikeworok from Losilang could eat only food which came from Najie. They could not eat any wild fruits, such as emongot. They could eat only the meat from the shoulder or the ribs of slaughtered oxen.<sup>4</sup>

In place of the heavy and unwieldy wedge-shaped stones set up in the kraals of the Toroi ngikeworok (see p. 236, Ch.IV, above), the Jimos chose as their symbol of office an iron axe (which they had probably used

1 Kenye (Apaemaler), J-63.

2 Lowot (Lomugereng), J-99. The Kanawat informants of J-114 claimed that gifts of grain and other things were frequently brought to the Kanawat ngikeworok, but it is important to note that these were the only informants who indicated that any such tribute was accorded to the Toroi ngikeworok. Moreover, their statements may well have been referring specifically to the Kanawat ekeworon Cukamoe, who held the office in Kanawat only after the Jimos succession.

3 Longok (Erisa) J-86.

4 Looru (Sampson) and others, J-52.

in the performance of their Losilang ritual duties before their accession to the ekeworon-ship)<sup>1</sup> which could easily be carried with them to rituals and other public gatherings. The task of keeping the axe and bearing it for the ngikeworok on ritual occasions was accorded to the Kathewok, the other clan of Agricultural Paranilotic origin who, with the Jimos, were the previous inhabitants of what became Losilang territorial division<sup>2</sup> (see pp.256-7, Ch.IV, above).

The Jimos ngikeworok are remembered to have performed two other ritual functions, again neither of which seem to have been done by the Toroi. The first of these was a blessing of the herds:

The Jimos ngikeworok would go and sit under a tree early in the morning when the cattle were being driven from the kraals to graze. They would watch the cattle going to the east and would remain under the tree all day gazing in that direction. They would not glance in any other direction - only to the east. If they looked to the side, bad things would happen: there would be disease and famine; and the cattle would die. When the cattle were driven home after grazing in the evening, the ngikeworok would get up and follow them to the kraals and bless the herds of the Jie.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 The Jimos were probably the "people of the axe" (ngika -aep) for Losilang angola and akiwodokin ceremonies before becoming the ngikeworok. The "people of the axe" in each territorial division are the men of a given clan whose duty it is to cut the tree with which the "gate" at these ceremonies is closed. In many of the territorial divisions, the "people of the axe" are drawn from a clan (usually Agricultural Paranilotic) who were early inhabitants of Najie, and they enjoy a relatively high ritual status within their respective divisions, regardless of their "order" at angola and akiwodokin.
- 2 Lowot (Lomugereng), J-132.
- 3 Lowot (Lomugereng), J-99.



The other ritual function was that of rain-making; and although the Jimos ngikeworok would undertake a program through Lokorwakol the congregation of senior elders continued to be regarded as the chief prior to the performance of major rituals. Visiting each territorial rain-makers, the Jimos ngikeworok sometimes performed a rain-making division in turn, and performing a ceremony prior to that of the elders at Looi ritual grove: proclaim their identity:

The elders are the real rain-makers in Najie, and the ngikeworok played no important part in their ceremony at Looi. Still, the ekeworon could perform a rain-making ceremony of his own before that of the elders. A black goat would be selected from the flock of the ekeworon, and taken to a certain hole in a rock near the homesteads of the Jimos in Losilang. There the goat is washed in the hole and then released. If rain comes, the elders don't have to perform their ceremony at Looi.<sup>1</sup>

It was mentioned above (p. 32) that Loyale, Orwakol's son and successor, probably had considerable difficulty in exerting any very strong influence over the Ngikorwakol pioneers who were pushing further and further east and south-east from the original settlements around Daidai. As the seven divisions of Lokorwakol were settled, the homesteads of the Kotiang Toroi were left in the northwestern corner of the area, in close proximity to the more important ritual groves established by Orwakol, but some distance from the homesteads of the more recently established eastern and southeastern territorial divisions (see Map 2, Ch. II, and Map 7, Ch. IV). With the removal of the Toroi ekeworon to Kanawat, the distance between the fire-maker and many of the eastern areas was even further increased. While the homesteads of the Jimos in south-western Losilang were rather more towards the geographical centre of the Lokorwakol settled area, the new ngikeworok were clearly concerned that sufficient contact between themselves and the various territorial divisions was not being made. To remedy the situation,

1 Dengel (Kamari), J-53, noted with ritual performances through Lokorwakol.

Although the matter is somewhat unclear, it would seem that the ritual tests to which the Toroi candidates submitted themselves may have been peculiar to the Toroi; at least, no specific mention of such a test was made by any informant in connection with any

the Jimos ngikeworok would undertake a progress through Lokorwakol prior to the performance of major rituals, visiting each territorial division in turn, and softening a black goat skin in their hands to proclaim their identity:

The ekeworon of Losilang would always take a goat skin and soften it in his hands prior to an important ceremony. He would come with the skin to Daidai where he would give it to the ekeworon of my family (Toroi of Kotiang), and together both men would move on to the homesteads of the people of Loreumoe. From there, they would go on to Kanawat, to be joined by another ekeworon, and from there to Komukunyo and then Panyangara, where a man from Ngikaloriang (the clan of the war-leader) joined them. From there they would go on to Nakapelimoru, and finally they all return to Kotido. If New Fire is to be made, the fire-sticks would be prepared while the ekeworon is making his journey. 1

As this tradition indicates, the Jimos ngikeworok appointed an hereditary "assistant" from each of the Lokorwakol divisions. In a gesture of calculated diplomacy, the chief of these assistants was chosen from the branch of the Toroi which had remained in Kotiang at the "home of Orwakol" and which still provided the hereditary asapanu-leaders. Nevertheless, ritual occasions provided an opportunity for the Jimos clearly to demonstrate that ritual supremacy had passed from Orwakol's people to themselves:

- 1 Koroc (Lokepon) and Lodio (Apaedongol), J-73. Several reliable Jie informants (including those of J-56) described similar progresses being undertaken by Loyale and other Toroi ngikeworok, and so the Jimos probably cannot be credited with having devised the progress. Indeed, the Rengen ngikeworok apparently did not follow any such progress, and so it may well have been originally devised by the Toroi. Still the general impression given by the traditions is that the Jimos progress was undertaken more frequently and was more of a ceremonial occasion than that of the Toroi.

Other informants (including those of J-96) indicated that the Jimos ekeworon used their progress in order to spread any important news (not necessarily concerned with ritual performances) throughout Lokorwakol.

- 3 Although the matter is somewhat unclear, it would seem that the ritual tests to which the Toroi candidates submitted themselves may have been peculiar to the Toroi; at least, no specific mention of such a test was made by any informant in connection with any Jimos or Rengen ekeworon.



The Jimos are the most important of the ngikeworok and the Toroi of Kotiang are only second in importance. When an ox is slaughtered at an important ritual, the people of Losilang (the Jimos) get the right shoulder (eseket teten) and the Kotiang (the Toroi) get the left shoulder (eseket kedieni).<sup>1</sup>

Two of the other "assistants", those of Komukuny and Nakapelimoru, were selected from branches of the Jimos which had emigrated from Losilang to settle in those areas, while in the other divisions, the assistants were chosen from clans which already enjoyed high ritual prestige in their own areas.<sup>2</sup> Besides accompanying the ekeworon on his progress, the "assistant" ngikeworok also participated directly in the New Fire ceremony:

When 'the land is heavy' (ie. when there is trouble) and New Fire is to be made, all of the ngikeworok gather at Moru Eker (ritual grove). The Jimos ekeworon begins to twirl the fire-stick and then the ekeworon of the Toroi takes over from him. The ngikeworok of the other divisions assist by holding the piece into which the fire-stick is drilled, and they can take over the twirling should the Jimos or the Toroi ekeworon require them.<sup>3</sup>

New Fire continued to be kindled by the Jimos during times of great crisis and in conjunction with generation-set inaugurations: the same occasions on which it had been kindled by the Toroi (see p.235, Ch. IV, above). The fire-sticks themselves were changed, however,

- 1 Lokeler, J-102. The Toroi of Kanawat were eventually accorded the second-ranked assistant, but apparently only after the death of Cukamoe, who continued to function as an independent ekeworon in his own territorial division while the rest of Najie acknowledged Lomanio.
- 2 According to some informants, however, only the Jimos ekeworon and his Kotiang assistant were of real importance: "The Jimos of Losilang and the family of Koroc (the Toroi) of Kotiang are the most important of the ngikeworok. The ngikeworok of the other divisions are only helpers. They are just vultures who come running when an ox is to be slaughtered." (Teko Ekalam, J-76).
- 3 Koroc (Lokapon) J-73. Koroc, the hereditary asapanu-leader and the assistant ekeworon of the Kotiang Toroi, had assisted Lotum, the Jimos ekeworon who died before my arrival in Najie, in the New Fire ceremony on several occasions.

Whereas the Toroi had used sticks of ekaliye wood, the Jimos used only sticks of ethegethege, a tree which grows in profusion in their ritual grove, Moru Eker,<sup>1</sup> although the sticks were still referred to as epit ka Orwakol, "Orwakol's fire-sticks". Adding considerably to the difficulty of their task, but demonstrating their proficiency, the Jimos ngikeworok moreover insisted on using only green ethegethege sticks, newly cut from a living branch.

The powers and authority of the Jimos ngikeworok were also extended into legal and judicial spheres. The ngikeworok could order the cessation of internecine feuds, decide cases and moreover enforce their decisions, if necessary:

The ngikeworok of the Jimos could judge cases. Should a Jie kill another Jie, their two groups would fight, but if the ekeworon ordered them not to, they would stop. He was the only man (individual) in Najie who could do that. People would hear his words. People had to obey him. If they didn't stop fighting immediately, the ekeworon would go to them and say, "Why do you fight when I have told you not to?" He could even order young men to be sent to prevent them from fighting. The ekeworon would then judge who was wrong and would make them pay a fine (akibut, to pay cattle in compensation) to those they had wronged.<sup>2</sup>

The homestead of the ngikeworok was also considered a sanctuary for fugitives, who might flee there to escape immediate retribution for some crime, and to lay their case before the judgement of the Fire-Maker:

1 Mr John Wilson kindly identified "ekaliye" as Grewia Trichocarpa and "ethegethege" as Cordia Ovalis.

2 Lopeiinyet (Angura), J-87. As noted on p.299 of the preceding chapter, the senior elders could, as a group, also order the cessation of fighting, but after the accession of the Jimos ngikeworok, they deferred all judgement to him.

3 Lopeiinyet (Angura), J-87.

4 Lopeiinyet (Angura), J-87.



If a man had wronged another, he could run to the home of the ekeworon in Losilang and be safe. No-one could follow him there. No-one could beat him there.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the Jimos adopted a new form of burial ritual for

their ngikeworok which, if not so elaborate as the burial rituals of the Hengen ngikeworok (see below), was nevertheless more elaborate than the burial rituals accorded to the Toroi:

After the old ekeworon has died and has been buried, his bones are dug up and special ceremonies are performed, usually at about the same time that his successor is chosen. But the ngikeworok of the Jimos are not buried with any of their possessions. It is only the Hengen who do that.<sup>2</sup>

When the ekworon has been dead for some time, his bones are dug up and ceremonies are held. A black ox is slaughtered and beer is brewed. Then the bones are re-buried.<sup>3</sup>

With the accession of the Jimos ngikeworok, then, the Lokorwakol office of Fire-Maker was elevated from that of a relatively powerless ritual functionary to an office which more closely resembled that of the Rangen. While of obvious significance to the Lokorwakol moiety of the developing Jie community, the rise of the Jimos ngikeworok is also of wider significance, in that it sheds considerable light on the whole question of the diffusion of the concept of the rwot. The case of the Jimos is a clear example of the transference of the concept from primarily agricultural Lwo peoples to a group of Agricultural Paraniotes, who, in their turn, introduced the concept to primarily pastoral elements of Loten-Magos origin, grafting various aspects of the Lwo rwot-

- 1 of Looru (Sampson) and other, J-92.
- 2 Lowot (Lomugereng), J-99.
- 2 Iluputh (and others), J-100.

ship to the pre-existing Paraniotic office of hereditary fire-maker. Therefore, the case of the Jimos may provide fresh evidence to the long debate between "diffusionists" and "anti-diffusionists", and do something towards finally resolving that debate once and for all.<sup>1</sup>

Although well over a century had gone by since the Agricultural Paraniotic Jimos had entered Najie from the west, it seems quite reasonable to deduce that the Jimos, like the Rengen "Ngikatapa", had been profoundly influenced by contacts with western peoples, especially those who were linguistically and culturally Lwo. Like the Rengen, the Jimos appear to have been deeply impressed with the Lwo concept of the rwot, and certainly many of the same powers, ceremonies, and ritual trappings accorded by the Lwo to their rwodi were assumed by the Jimos ngikeworok after their accession (see pp.24-3, Ch.IV, above). It would, moreover, seem very likely that a recollection of rwot-ship was retained within the context of Losilang ritual activity, led by the Jimos and performed at their ritual centre at Moru Eker. It can furthermore be suggested that the Jimos, desirous of extending their powers and ritual authority

1 A very clear picture of a similar diffusion of the concept of the rwot in western Acholi is provided by R. Atkinson in his "State Formation and Development in Western Acholi", an unpublished seminar paper presented at Makerere University in August 1971. Atkinson argues, however, that in Western Acholi a rather "refined version" of the rwot-ship was introduced from Bunyoro by Palwo immigrants only after about 1680. Important features of the rwot-ship brought in from Bunyoro included the ownership of royal drums and the payment of certain kinds of tribute (different both in kind and in concept, it is important to note, than the tribute accorded to the Jimos ngikeworok). Obviously, there would hardly have been time for either the Jimos or the Rengen to have been influenced by the version of the rwot-ship introduced into western Acholi by the Palwo. Rather, the Lwo-speakers who influenced the Jimos and Rengen must have been one of the groups which (as all recent observers of the Acholi agree) pre-existed the arrival of the Palwo, in eastern Acholi and along the western Karamoja border-land. Webster, for example ("State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago, Eastern Acholi", op.cit., especially pp.2-3)



from Losilang to the rest of Lokorwakol, may well have consciously planned a strategem by which to secure the office of hereditary ekeworon. Clearly, they seem to have taken the fullest possible advantage of the Toroi schism by establishing affinal ties with the Kanawat branch and by inducing the Kanawat ekeworon to use Moru Eker as the ritual grove for making New Fire. Again, their claim to the succession appears to have been perfectly timed, and having just secured that succession, their appointment of the Kofiang Toroi as their most important assistants seems to betray an element of studied calculation.

In some ways, the increased power of the Jimos ngikeworok undoubtedly cut into that which had traditionally been wielded by the Ngikorwakol senior elders. This was perhaps most clearly discernable in the judicial sphere, as noted above. In many other ways, however, between the elders and the ekeworon seems to have been remarkably similar the traditional duties and authority accorded to the elders continued to that which existed between the elders of the western Acholi. In military matters, for example, as Webster has written: "The king (past) reigned but hardly ruled without the almost unanimous consent of the elders."

Footnote 1 from previous page continued

notes the existence of several such Lwo-speaking groups along the western Karamoja border-land, including the Puranga, Payera, and Patiko, some of whom were already beginning to move westwards, away from the Karamoja border-land by as early as about 1653-79 (see also Crazzolara (1954), op.cit., pp. 476-9; and Ogot (1967), op.cit., p.59). Webster notes that these Lwo groups had already begun to establish small kingdoms in eastern Acholi at least by this time, and that in no case did any group possess royal drums. While the various Agricultural Paradlotic communities (including the Jimos and elements of the Rengen) were profoundly influenced in many ways by their contacts with the Lwo, in no instance did they acquire a knowledge of drums (royal or otherwise), which again strongly indicates that it was from these eastern Lwo groups (rather than the later arriving Palwo from Bunyoro) that the concept of the rwot was transferred.

Like the Jie, the Acholi elders chose a new rwot from among the old rwot's sons (Webster, "Acholi historical notes", op.cit., p.13), and in personal communication Webster stated that the qualities looked for by the Acholi elders in their new rwot exactly paralleled those sought by Jie elders in their rwot.

example, the Jimos ngikeworok began to take a more active role in ritual preparation for war, such as smearing the warriors with clay before battle,<sup>1</sup> but the actual direction of armies and raiding parties, and the over-all planning of strategy remained strictly the province of the senior elders and the hereditary war leaders (see Ch. VII below). The senior elders also continued to exercise their right to select the successor of a deceased ekeworon, although their choice was at least theoretically limited to only one of the sons of the old ekeworon.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the traditions make it clear that the Jimos owed their succession to the ekeworon-ship largely to the support given to their claim by the elders, and that, however well-planned their own strategem to secure the office may have been, they could never have attained the office without the vital backing of the elders. In many ways, the relationship between the elders and the ekeworon seems to have been remarkably similar to that which existed between the elders of the eastern Acholi kingdoms and their rwodi, of which Webster has written: "The king (rwot) reigned, but hardly ruled without the almost unanimous consent of the elders."<sup>3</sup>

Having attained the ekeworon-ship, the relationship between the Jimos ngikeworok and the senior elders found expression in their close

1 Lokec (Lomorumoe) and Arini, J-96.

2 The personal qualities looked for in a prospective candidate for ekeworon have been given above, p. 74, Ch. II. Basically, these were gentleness and humility. Primogeniture was of little importance, and the traditions state that in choosing a new ekeworon more flamboyant elder sons were frequently passed over in favour of a quieter junior one.

3 Webster, "State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago", op.cit., p. 4. Like the Jie, the Acoli elders chose a new rwot from among the old rwot's sons (Webster, "Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit., p. 13), and in personal communication Webster stated that the qualities looked for by the Acoli elders in their new rwot exactly paralleled those sought by Jie elders in their ngikeworok.



co-operation, especially on important ritual occasions. The presence of the senior elders was deemed desirable on those occasions (especially the kindling of New Fire) led by the ngikeworok, and in the same way, the presence of the ekeworon was expected on those occasions in which the ritual leadership was provided by the elders:

The elders are the ones who conduct the rain-making ceremony at Looi, and the ekeworon has no special role. But he was expected to attend, and is given the meat from the right shoulder of the sacrificial ox.... The ekeworon also has no special role at the angola ceremony at Nayan or Daidai, but he must be present together with the 'big' elders.<sup>1</sup>

The co-operation between the elders and the ngikeworok was further reflected in their sharing of authority on the level of the moiety. While the elders could "approach the ekeworon and tell him it was time to make New Fire,"<sup>2</sup> they would also "discuss important matters and then take their decisions to the ekeworon to hear his opinion,"<sup>3</sup> and even in the important duty of selecting a new ekeworon, "the elders would meet under a tree with the men of the Jimos to decide together who should be chosen."<sup>4</sup> The Ngikorwakol ngikeworok, traditionally only religious functionaries, thus achieved a new status with the accession of the Jimos, by which they accrued an authority which transcended the ritual sphere. As with the Rengen, the office of Ngikorwakol ekeworon after the Jimos accession undoubtedly became a

1 Dengel (Kamari), J-53.

2 Dengel (Kamari), J-53.

3 Looi (Sampson), and others, J-52.

4 Dodoi (Lokuangiro), Longoi (Apariong) and Lodon, J-88.

focus for more intensive feelings of the corporate unity of the moiety and, with the institution of the asapanu system, helped to cross-cut the segmentary loyalties focused on clan or territorial division. Something of the corporate identity which the Ngikorwakol had experienced nearly a century before when they were clustered near Laidai under Orwakol was recaptured through the integrative force provided by the Jimos ngikeworok. The authority and importance of the ngikeworok at the height of their power after the Jimos accession is clearly retained in Jie traditions:

The Jimos were the most important people in Najie. The people of Koroc (the Toroi of Kotiang) were important because they led asapanu, and the people of Lorian (the Lodoa of Panyangara, see below) were important because they led in wars. But the Jimos were more important than either, because they had all the power concerning New Fire and all the customs of the Jie.<sup>1</sup>

The Jie never had chiefs. Only the Acoli and the other "Ngikatapa" had them. But the ngikeworok of the Jimos were like big chiefs (ekapalon) of the Jie. They were as big (important) as the A.D.C. is now. They led the Jie in all things. They judged cases. They "opened the gate" for war (ie. by smearing the warriors), although the actual leading the armies was, of course, not their job.<sup>2</sup>

Jie tradition concerning the importance of the ngikeworok also made an impression on at least one early European observer of Karamoja, E. J. Wayland, who noted:

In the 'old days' there were two chiefs (of the Jie)....(and) under each chief was grouped certain sections of the tribe,

- 1 Mabuc (Loputuke), J-85.
- 2 Lokepon (Koroc) and Lodio (Apaedongol), J-73. The reference to "A.D.C." is to the Assistant District Commissioner of Jie and Labwor Counties, whose office is in Kotido. To the average Jie, he is the highest ranking Government official with whom they normally come into any kind of contact, and represents the ultimate Government authority.



so that it was virtually divided into two. They were not wizards but chiefs.<sup>1</sup>

Wayland's reference to "wizards" brings us to a brief examination of another functionary, the diviner, whose historical importance to Jie society has heretofore been largely overlooked in this thesis. Like other Central Paraniotic-speaking peoples, the Jie traditionally had several different types of diviners. The majority were "healing diviners" (ngimurok, s. emuron) who could prepare medicines to exorcize evil spirits (ngipian), and to cure those afflicted with various illnesses. The ngimurok often had powers of prophecy, as well, although it was more usual for prophets to be ngikeriyak (s. ekeriyen), who told the future through dreams, or ngikethiemok (s. ekethiemon), who were skilled in divining the future by reading animal intestines.<sup>2</sup> All of these diviners were considered a benevolent force in society, and all were thought to be individuals who have inherited the soul (etorube, literally 'shadow') of some outstanding diviner who has gone before:

When an emuron dies, many people believe that his soul passes into a large snake. At other times, the soul of a dead emuron chooses someone else to be an emuron. The soul of the dead emuron enters the body of the chosen person and he becomes an emuron. Ngimurok always have the soul of some dead emuron who went before them.<sup>3</sup>

1 Wayland E.J., "Preliminary Studies of the Tribes of Karamoja", JRAI 61, 1931, p.224. While Wayland's reference to "chiefs" is clearly to the ngikeworok of the Rengen and the Ngikorwakol, the names he lists for two of these "chiefs", "Nasoryth" and "Iyangatuing" were unfortunately not recognised by any of my Jie informants who were asked about them. Apparently Wayland either misunderstood the names given to him (as was frequently the case with early European observers), or else he recorded nick-names by which two of the ngikeworok were known at that time, but which have since been forgotten by the Jie.

2 Interviews including J-28,30,37, 40 and 121. Another form of divination entails throwing a pair of sandals and interpreting the various ways they fall. This is widely practiced by Jie men, however, and is not necessarily confined to diviners. In the same way, many Jie men are capable of reading intestines although they make no claim of being diviners.

3 Lokong (Israel), J-97.



The forces of evil are represented by one type of spirit (ekipia, pl. ngipian) who are the "shadows" of bad people who have died,<sup>1</sup> and by wizards and witches, including those who cast the "evil eye" and those who associate with hyenas and ride them at night.

Despite the variety of diviners, extremely few seem to have ever played any very important role in Jie society.<sup>2</sup> In most cases the "healing diviners", who were very often women (ngamurok, s. amuron), were known only within their own immediate neighbourhoods, and exerted an influence over only a few people. Similarly, most of those diviners who specialized in prophecy were only consulted by the people of a given area, generally a territorial division or sub-division. Still, certain areas or groups, including the Lokatap territorial division of Rengen, the Gale clan of Panyangara, and the Ngikuliak, did build up reputations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for producing especially skilled diviners who were often consulted by people from other areas or groups. Jie tradition also recalls a few outstanding diviners who at various times extended their influence throughout an entire moiety or even the whole tribe. Most of these were prophets, like the female diviner Lodul, who probably lived during the early part of the nineteenth century and foretold the movement of enemy raiding

1 The evil ngipian are red in colour and hairy, "rather like Europeans", while good ngipian are coloured like rainbows and are sent by God (Akui) to bring rain. Both types are thought to inhabit hills and mountains and each of the good ngipian are named for the hill or mountain on which they live. The good ngipian are frequently called upon by senior elders during rain-making ceremonies. During a meeting of Kotido elders (recorded as J-Rit-1), Kenye Apaemaler, one of the prayer leaders, called upon each of the good ngipian in turn to bring rain: "You, Toror, come! You, Moroto, come! You, Maru, come!" etc.

2 This view was also held by the Gullivers (1953, op.cit., p.49) who noted that neither diviners nor sorcerers were very frequently encountered among the Jie. The Gullivers suggested that this might be due to the considerable ritual authority of the hereditary asapanu-leaders.



parties and the coming of rain, and is still remembered as "the most supposedly immortal, have been legendary figures, credited with the important diviner of her time."<sup>1</sup> Like Lodul, male prophets, including Loingolem of Panyangara (perhaps the most famous diviner of all), who lived during the mid-nineteenth century, Awangaki (a leader of the Ngikuliak, who was active during the late nineteenth century), and Apamaruktom of Nakapelimoru (who was also an assistant ekeworon to the Jimos, again during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), also achieved an almost universal fame throughout Najie. Jie tradition makes it clear, however, that such skilled and wellknown diviners as those appear only very infrequently:

Loingolem, the great emuron of Panyangara, was known by all the Jie because he always saw the future clearly. If he said enemies would come, they would really come. If he said the rain would fall, it would really fall. Most other ngimurok were just big liars. The things they said would happen never happened.<sup>2</sup>

Often, the Jie seem to have been more impressed by diviners from other societies than by those of their own. Acoli ritual functionaries, for example, were sometimes invited to Najie to perform rain-making ceremonies.<sup>3</sup> Others, such as Nakurio, who was either a Dodos or Magos Karimojong diviner and who was active during the early or mid-nineteenth century; and Kwaibongo, a diviner from the Sudan who appeared at many various times during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and was

1 Atongo, Lokwii, Lowuare, and Kape, J-30. Also J-44 and J-127.

2 Lobwal, J-34.

3 Even a rwot from the Ajali kingdom, Ongian, was employed by the Jie as a rain-maker on several occasions and, according to Webster's Acoli informants, collected a fee of 50 goats for the service. Webster, "Acoli Historical Texts", op.cit., p.8.



supposedly immortal, have become legendary figures, credited with the performance of great magic and with fantastic powers of prophecy.<sup>1</sup>

In all cases, the powers of Jie diviners appear to have been strictly ancillary to those of the senior elders, the ngikeworok, and (at least from the late nineteenth century) the war-leaders. Successful prophets like Ioingolem, Lodul, and the un-named Rengen emuron who established Lokatap Rock with its sacred hyraxes as a ritual centre (see p. Ch.IV, above) were advisors rather than dictators of courses of action in given situations. While the prophecies of the more widely known diviners were undoubtedly respectfully heeded by the congregation of senior elders and/or the hereditary ritual functionaries, it was the elders and the functionaries who actually made any decisions which those prophecies may have called for. Moreover, it is very likely that many of the ritual duties and prerogatives which may have been at one time accorded to diviners were taken over by both the congregation of senior elders and the hereditary functionaries, viz., the making of rain by the elders, the ritual smearing of warriors and the rituals to ensure the well-being of the community by the ngikeworok, and the augury performed by the hereditary war-leaders prior to military campaigns (see the following chapter). Apart from the influence which the very successful diviners could enjoy, some were able to amass considerable wealth in livestock

1 While Nakurio is remembered in the traditions of many of the peoples of Karamoja and is even the subject of a song known at least to the Jie and Karimojong, informants were strongly divided concerning his tribal affiliation. Nevertheless, he appears to have had considerable influence throughout a large part of Karamoja.

Kwaibongo (or Ikwaibongo) also appears to have wielded considerable influence throughout much of Karamoja at various times. He is mentioned by Dyson-Hudson (op.cit., p.225) and by Thomas, E.M., (Warrior Herdmen, London, 1966, pp.162-3). Some Jie informants (including Mabuc Loputaka, J-85) stated that any member of Kwaibongo's group (which they simply referred to as "Ngikwaibongo") could make rain simply by pulling up a tuft of grass. Earlier this century, Kwaibongo is remembered to have visited Najie, but was arrested and locked up in a room by a Government chief. According to a popular Jie story, he vanished from the room and disappeared during the night, although the lock on the

continued on next page.....



offered to them as "fees", but there can be no question that the importance and power of the great majority of diviners was considerably below that of the senior elders or the hereditary functionaries.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. The Defeat of the Poet

While the accession of the Jimos ngikeworok undoubtedly did much to strengthen the political integration of the Ngikowakol, other processes were also in operation which were to further modify the strongly independent natures of the territorial divisions. These processes entailed the internal movement of clan and sub-clan groups within the settled area of Najie. Such internal movement was of course typical of the historical experiences of many other African peoples, and very often had the effect of transforming a segmentary collection of clans and/or other units into something which more closely resembled a nation. A prime example is Buganda, where the clan territories of the pre-Kintu period progressively disappeared in the face of the inter-territorial movement by various clan sections. With the Jie these processes began with the return of the Agricultural Paraniotic Ngiseera and Loposa, together with their Lwo companions. As described in the preceding chapter (pp. 33-4), their arrival injected a considerable western influence into not one, but several Lokowakol territorial divisions, thereby blurring to some extent the uniqueness of those divisions. By the early years

### Footnote 1 continued from previous page

door of the windowless room was found to be intact the next morning. He has not been seen in Najie since.

- 1 A rather similar picture of the Karimojong diviners is provided by Dyson-Hudson, op.cit., pp. 224-7; and of the Turkana diviners by Gulliver (1950) op.cit., pp. 233-9. Beaton (op.cit.), makes hardly any mention at all of diviners amongst the Toposa.

of the nineteenth century, a certain amount of population movement between the various parts of Najie was also discernable. By that time many of the small compact clans which had participated in the initial occupation and settlement of the territorial divisions had grown tremendously, and several of the larger clans had begun to splinter and branch out to other areas. The ekeworon Lowatamoe who took his branch of the Toroi from Kotiang to Kanawat, and the two sub-clans of the Jimos which moved from Losilang to Komukuny and Nakapelimoru already mentioned in this chapter, are good examples of the process. Another example is provided by the descendants of the patriarch Kere of the Lokore clan of Kanawat. By 1800 (ie. the end of Ngikok initiations) the ridge on which the Lokore had settled in Kanawat had become overcrowded, and some of Kere's sons and grandsons (often called Ngikakere, "Kere's people") began to move away from the Kanawat homesteads to set themselves up as Lokore sub-clans in several parts of Panyangara and Nakapelimoru territorial divisions. The reasons for their movements were varied: family quarrels, shortages of food (presumably agricultural produce), supernaturally-caused misfortunes, or simply a desire to live in a new area. In the words of a descendant of one of the separatists:

Clans often break up if they become too large. They find that there is not enough food, or they see another area which seems like a good place to live. Our clan originated in Kanawat, but then some men moved here to Thlokol and Kadoca (both in Nakapelimoru) while others went first to Lokibuwo and then to Kapuyon (in Panyangara). We now belong to these places, but we still remember that Kanawat was the home of our ancestors. Was not Kere the "father" of us all? Do we not all share one etal? <sup>1</sup>

1 Nakwo, J-115. A tradition of the Lokore sub-clan at Kapuyon in Panyangara has already been recorded above (p. 70, Ch. II). The leader of that Lokore branch left Kanawat because he felt he was being asked to provide too many sacrificial oxen for Kanawat rituals. According to that tradition, and to other information supplied by Lokore informants, the Lokore branches do not, in fact, still share one range of ngitalia. Nakwo probably used the term "one etal" loosely, to mean "descended from a common source."



In some cases, such emigrant branches of dispersed clans settled close to affinal or maternal kinsmen in their adopted territorial divisions. As the preceding tradition indicates, dispersed sub-clans, although almost invariably granted full membership in their new divisions (at least after a time), never forgot their origins and would often continue to regard their old divisions as the "home of our fathers". In a sense, therefore, many such migrant sub-clans regarded themselves, and were regarded by others, as belonging to two territorial divisions, and the independent and unique identity of many divisions was thereby further blurred.<sup>1</sup>

The internal population movement of Najie even transcended moiety boundaries, and sometime during the early years of the nineteenth century (during the early stages of Ngisiroi initiations) a large contingent of Rengen immigrants arrived in Lokorwakol and established themselves as the Kadokini sub-division of Panyangara. These Rengen, representing several clans, mainly of Lokatap territorial division, continued to perform their rituals separately from the other Panyangara, but were regarded as at least territorially part of Lokorwakol, and began to take an active participation in the everyday economic and domestic life of the Ngikorwakol.

The arrival of the Kadokini was in fact symptomatic of increasing turmoil all along the north-western Rengen frontier. As was shown in the preceding chapter (pp.272-7), the expulsion of the Toposa at the end of the eighteenth century had created a territorial vacuum which caused both the Agricultural Paranilotic Poet and the emerging Dodos community

1 The dispersed clans are listed, giving their original area and the areas in which their branches are located, in Appendix 3 at the end of this thesis.

temporarily to shift their attention northwards, away from the Rengen vanguard which was pioneering the Kaceri and Kalomide areas, northwest of the Dopeth River. Within a very few years, however, the Poot were feeling the effects of a famine (quite possibly the Laparanat), brought on by a drought and a plague of locusts and many of them were forced to take temporary refuge with the Ngieyan on Mt. Orom (see footnote 1, p. 277, Ch.V, above), or even further west along part of the Acholi borderland not so badly effected by the famine:

When the famine came, the Poot (Poet) and the clans who were with them: the Titi, Kathengor and Kalobur, went away to the west. Some went to Orom and others went to eastern Acholi where the hunger was not so great. The Poot group had no cattle, but after a time, they looked again to the east and saw that the people there (Rengen Jie and Lokorikituk Dodos) were rich (in cattle). So they said, "Let us return to the east." Most of them returned, but a few remained behind in the west and became Acoli and continued to be farmers. Those who remained are known by various names including Kadwera, Karyangabu and Gule.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Adupa (Sampson), D-12. Other informants, including those of D-10, agreed that the Poot group went to the Paimol area of north-eastern Acholi. The arrival of the Poot in Paimol is still recalled in Acoli traditions collected by Webster ("Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit., pp.80-94) in which they are referred to by the same names given in Adupa's testimony above. There seems to be some uncertainty amongst the Acoli as to when the immigrants arrived, however. While ~~some~~ Acoli informants descended from the immigrants agreed that they had arrived during the reign of the rwot Omol who lived at least a century before the Laparanat, most agreed that they had arrived from Karamoja (some even specified a place called "Oet"). These informants may well have been trying to aggrandise their position in Paimol society by claiming they were a very early clan, and at least one group of them was clearly led in their answers to Webster's questions by the Paimol rwot who was present at the interview (ibid. p.91). Other informants (p.94) indicated that their ancestors arrived during the reign of rwot, Olemngorok, whose dates (1802-29) correspond very closely to the Laparanat.



When those Poet who had gone to the west returned to their former area south-east of the Kapeta River, they found that the Toposa, who had been driven north by the Dodos, were concentrated north of Mt. Morungole near the present border with the Sudan. From there, the Toposa were launching raids against the Dodos who were still settling their former country:

When the Poet arrived here from Acholi, the Toposa around Morungole were raiding the Dodos to the south. Some of the Poet helped the Dodos in their fights and the Toposa were finally defeated and driven even further north. The Poet (re-) settled the areas around Komoce, Loruu and Makal to the north of Najie, and some began to associate closely with the Dodos because of ekicwan (literally, "a need for meat").<sup>1</sup>

Although some of the Poet thus lent support to the Dodos, others appear to have formed a closer association with the Rengen Jie:

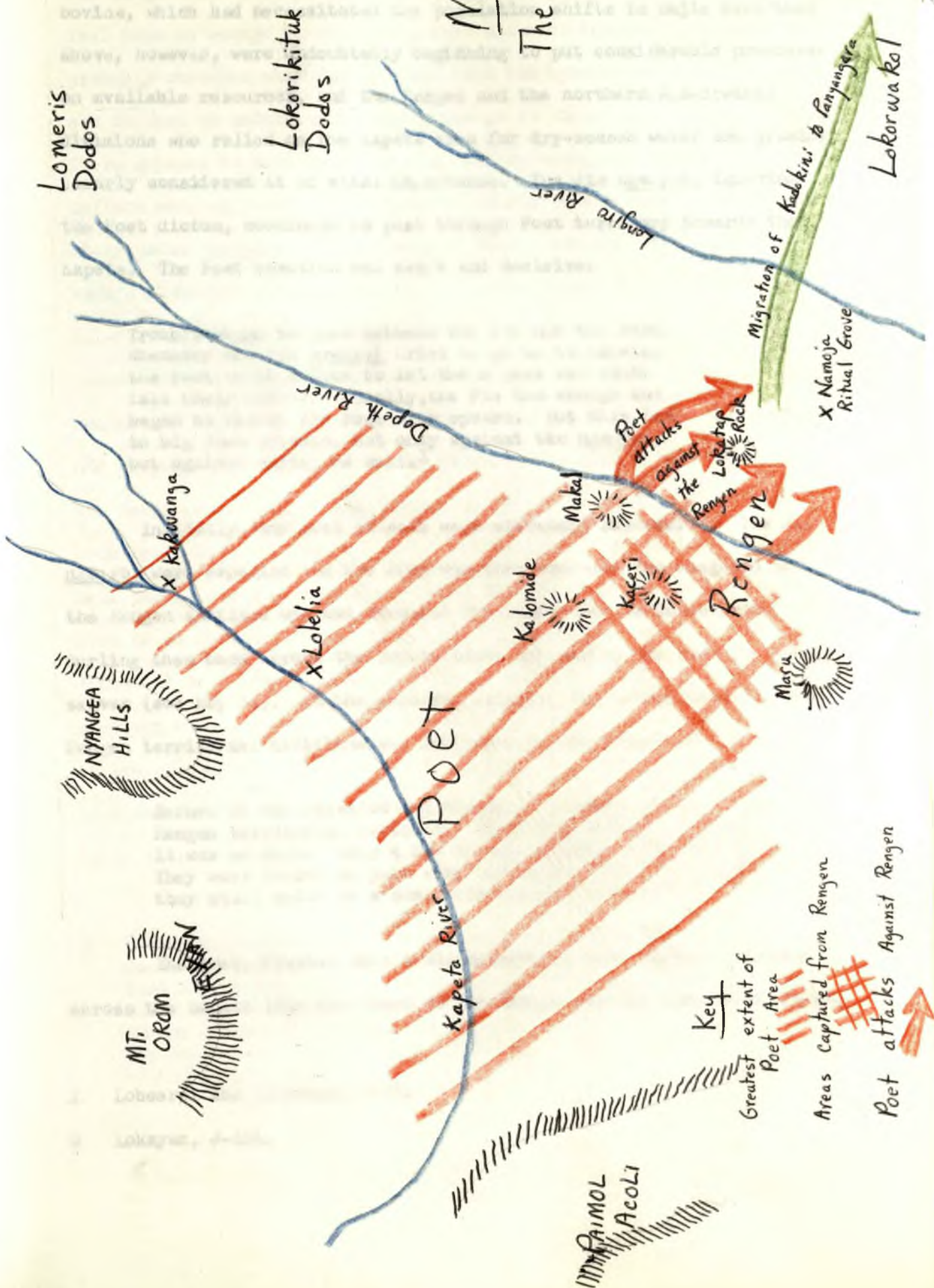
The Poet lived between the Jie and the Dodos, but they were neither one nor the other. They sometimes acted as spies for Jie raiding parties who wanted to steal Dodos cattle, and of course this made the Dodos very angry.<sup>2</sup>

Sandwiched between the Rengen Jie to the south and the Lokorikituk Dodos to the east (see Map 11), the Poet found it increasingly difficult to establish any firm policy which would ally them to one side or the other, and therefore succeeded in incurring the animosity of both. Open hostility first broke out with the Jie. Although Jie ngauyoi had been permitted to use the important Kapeta watering points prior to the famine (p. 276 Ch. V, above), with their return from the west, the Poet became resentful of the Jie intrusions, and forbade further

1 Lokidap (and others), D-10.

2 Cope, J-28.

# MAP 11 The Poet





use of the Kapeta by the Jie. The population growth, both human and the emigration of Ladoket to the safety of Fanyangara. The Ladoket bovine, which had necessitated the population shifts in Najie described fall back on Namaja ritual group, just south of Ladoket area. They were above, however, were undoubtedly beginning to put considerable pressures on available resources, and the Rengen and the northern Ngikorwakol and decided to undertake a drastic change in their territorial divisions who relied on the Kapeta area for dry-season water and grazing. There appears to have been a strong feeling among the Rengen that the clearly considered it of vital importance. The Jie ngauyoi, ignoring defeats were at least partially attributable to the Ladoket attacks on the Poet dictum, continued to push through Poet territory towards the their Katal ngaworon, a sub-division of Ngauyoi, was the people gathered at Kapeta. The Poet reaction was swift and decisive:

111- Trouble began to grow between the Jie and the Poet. Whenever the Jie ngauyoi tried to go up to Kapeta, the Poet would refuse to let them pass and would take their cattle. Finally, the Jie had enough and began to resist the Poet with spears. But this led to big Poet attacks, not only against the ngauyoi, but against Najie, as well.<sup>1</sup>

Initially, the Poet attacks were extremely successful. The Jie ngauyoi were expelled and the Poet warriors over-ran the vanguard of been Ladoket, but were they were forced to stand back. The Rengen settlers who had occupied the Kaceri and Kalimode area, hurling them back across the Dopeth River and taking the area for themselves (see Map 11). In the process, Ladoket, the northernmost of the ngaworon division, was no longer able to resist the Poet attacks. Rengen territorial divisions was swallowed up and ceased to exist:

tion re Before it was attacked and over-run, Ladoket was the fifth Rengen territorial division. After the attacks, however, it was no more. Only a few of the Ladoket people survived. They were forced to join with the Kapelok division where they still exist as a small clan called 'Ladoket'.<sup>2</sup>

1. A Ladoket tradition collected by John Ngauyoi from Ladoket people. The Poet, flushed with their successes, even launched attacks across the Dopeth into the heart of the Rengen settled area which caused to the 'Poet' as 'Ngauyoi', and there is no doubt that the information was in fact referring to the Poet.

1 Lobeerei and Lokwange, J-98.

2 Lokayan, J-124.

the emigration of Kadokini to the safety of Panyangara.<sup>1</sup> The Rengen fell back on Namoja ritual grove, just south of Lokatap Rock (they were probably somewhat encouraged to see that the hyraxes were still there), and decided to undertake a drastic change in their ritual leadership.

There appears to have been a strong feeling among the Rengen that their defeats were at least partially attributable to the ineffectiveness of their Ratai ekeworon, a descendant of Oding, and the people gathered at Namoja clamoured for his removal. It seems likely that considerable ill-feeling may have been engendered against the Ratai, whose homesteads south of Lokatap Rock had escaped the Poet onslaughts, by those Rengen who had borne the brunt of the attacks and had lost their homes and properties. In any case, the Kalolet, the clan chosen to replace the Ratai as the Rengen ngikeworok, was clearly one of those driven from their home area by the Poet. The original name of the clan had been Lodoi, but when they were forced to abandon their homesteads and flee to an area in Lokatap near a salt lick (elet), they took the name "Kalolet" as a bitter reminder of their expulsion. The first Kalolet ekeworon chosen by the Rengen elders to replace the Ratai was a man called Loimanyang of the Ngisiroi asapanu. Unfortunately, the tradition related by his great-grandson, Acap, the present Rengen ekeworon, fails to reflect the drama which the replacement must have occasioned:

1 A Kadokini tradition concerning their emigration from Rengen has been recorded above (p. 77, Ch.II). In that tradition, the Kadokini informants referred to attacks by "Dodos", but as already noted above, there is a frequent tendency for some Jie to refer to the 'Poet' as 'Dodos', and there is absolutely no doubt that the informants were in fact referring to Poet attacks.

2 Interviews with Acap, Ngisiroi, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025.



My clan was not the original ekeworon clan of the Rengen. The Ratai of Radwoman were the ngikeworok before us. They are also known as Ngikaloding, because they were the children (descendants) of Oding himself. But then the Ratai became very bad ngikeworok. They were spoiling the ritual. Terrible things were happening in Rengen. So it was decided that my clan should take over.<sup>1</sup>

The transfer of the ekeworon-ship from the Ratai to the Kalolet does not seem to have entailed any major changes in either the office or the New Fire ritual, as had been the case with the transfer of the Lokorwakol office from the Toroi to the Jimos. As noted above, the Kalolet seem to have inherited from the Ratai an office which was strikingly similar to that developed by the Jimos on their accession, and there is a clear parallel between most of the powers and the functions accorded the ngikeworok of both moieties. One difference between the two moieties was the occasions on which New Fire was made. As with the Ngikorwakol, the Rengen ngikeworok were expected to make New Fire in times of great stress, but unlike them, New Fire was not kindled in conjunction with the inauguration of a new Rengen asapanu, although the ekeworon was called upon to smear the first initiates with ritual clay.<sup>2</sup> Another major difference was with the burials of deceased Rengen ngikeworok which entails a more elaborate ritual than the burials of either the Toroi or even the Jimos:

When the ekeworon of the Rengen dies, he is buried with his clothing, ornaments and other possessions, even his sleeping hides. Gourds of milk are also buried with him. The ekeworon is the only man of the Rengen who is buried like that. The other Jie (the Ngikorwakol) do not bury

1 Acap (Lodioki), J-108.

2 Interviews including, J-60, 91, 93, 95 and 108.

anyone like that. The ekeworon is buried with his head pointed to the east, lying on his left side. People bring milk and pour it on his grave. They also bring food, some of which they eat themselves, and some of which is left on the grave. After some years, the bones of the ekeworon are dug up and a special ceremony is held. A goat is killed and the bones of the ekeworon are put in the skin and taken to the place where New Fire is made (Moru Anamit). There they are buried under a pile of stones. All of the ngikeworok are there at Moru Anamit.<sup>1</sup>

The only other differences appear to have been very minor ones: having a spear, rather than an axe or wedge-shaped stone as their symbol of office; referring to the fire-sticks (which were of ethegethege wood, like the Jimos) as epit kaloding, "Oding's Fire-sticks"; and possibly not following the same sort of ritual progress as the ngikeworok of the more dispersed Ngikorwakol.

Having thus chosen a new line of ngikeworok, the Rengen felt themselves ready to begin a counter-offensive against the victorious Poet. They first enlisted the help of the rest of the Jie community, the Ngikorwakol, whose northern divisions undoubtedly felt the loss of the Kapeta water-rights almost as severely as the Rengen. In the same way that the internal population movement within Najie, described above, helped to effect the closer integration of the Jie community, so now did the opportunity to combine in unified warfare against a common enemy serve to develop further the awareness of their "Jie-ness" by both moieties. Considerable numbers of Ngikorwakol warriors responded to the Rengen call. These warriors were men of the Ngisiroi asapanu, the sons of the Ngikok who as young men had successfully raided the

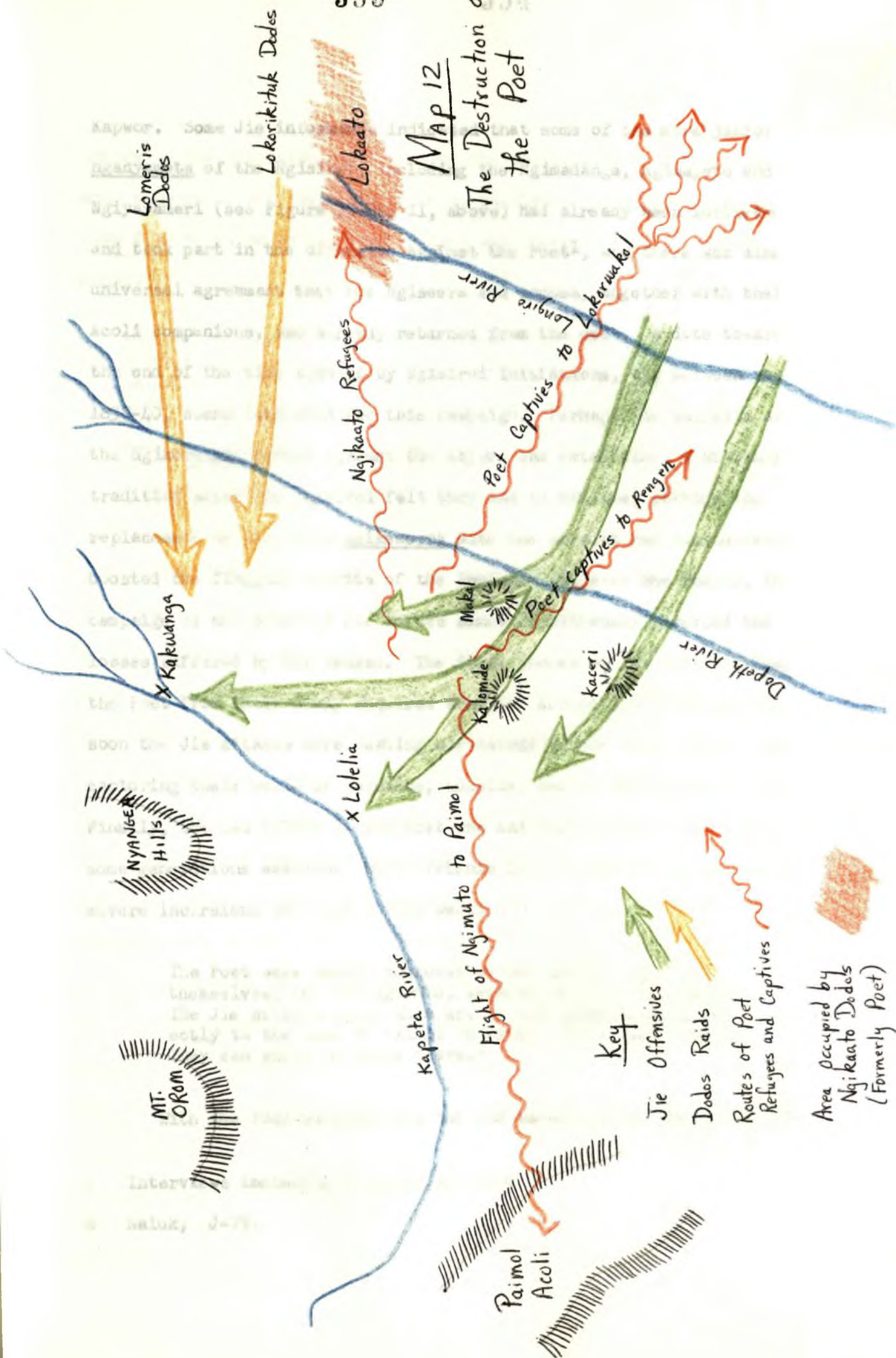
1 Acap (Lodioki), J-108. The Rengen informants of J-91 provided very much the same information.

2 Interviews including J-24, 59 and 100.



# Map 12

## The Destruction of the Poet



Kapwor. Some Jie informants indicated that some of the more junior nganyameta of the Ngisiroi, including the Ngimadanga, Ngiwapeto and Ngiyarameri (see Figure 3, Ch. II, above) had already been initiated and took part in the offensive against the Poet<sup>1</sup>, and there was almost universal agreement that the Ngiseera and Loposa, together with their Acoli companions, had already returned from the west. A date towards the end of the time spanned by Ngisiroi initiations, eg. between about 1830-40, seems indicated for this campaign. Perhaps the exploits of the Ngikorwakol Ngikok against the Kapwor had established a military tradition which the Ngisiroi felt they had to emulate; perhaps the replacement of the Ratai ngikeworok with the Kalolet had considerably boosted the flagging spirits of the Hengen. Whatever the reason, the campaign of the combined Jie forces almost immediately reversed the losses suffered by the Hengen. The first thrust of the Ngisiroi swept the Poet from their newly acquired areas of Kaceri and Kalomide, and soon the Jie attacks were pushing northwards to the banks of the Kapeta, capturing their wells at Kalomide, Lolelia, and at the Kapeta itself. Finally, the Lwo allies of the Poet who had been settled with them for some generations abandoned their friends in the face of the increasingly severe incursions and fled to the west:

The Poet were really composed of two groups: the Poet themselves, and the Ngimuto, who were people like Acoli. The Jie attacks split them up.... The Ngimuto went directly to the west to Paimol in Acholi where they settled. They can still be found there.<sup>2</sup>

With the Poet reeling from the Jie assaults, the Dodos took ad-

1 Interviews including J-24, 59 and 100.

2 Naluk, J-79.



vantage of the situation and fell upon the eastern flank of the Poet.

Large numbers of the Poet were taken as captives, and according to one Dodos tradition, an entire band of them was taken in a very curious manner:

When the people were fighting the Poet, the Dodos found a whole group of them gathered at Kamoce (a hill north of Kalomide). They were dancing to the sound of a nyethui bird.... When the bird cried, those Poet would dance to its sound. They had left their spears and other weapons to one side, and the Dodos surrounded them, cutting them off from their weapons. The Dodos captured them all: men, women, children, all!.....The Dodos decided to bring them to their homes and make them become Dodos, as well.<sup>1</sup>

Their Muto allies gone, Jie attacks hammering them from the south, and Dodos raids carrying off large numbers of their people to the east, the Poet resistance crumbled. Jie ngauvoi could once again have free access to the Kapeta resources, and the north-western frontier of the Rengen was secured. Like the Dodos, the victorious Jie took large numbers of Poet captives and brought them back to Najie. Poet groups were thus scattered quite literally throughout Najie (see Map 12). A considerable number were assimilated by the Lokatap territorial division of the Rengen where they formed a large and important clan. Other Poet groups were absorbed by four of the seven Lokorwakol territorial divisions: Losilang, Kotido, Panyangara and Nakapelimoru. Although they were brought to Najie as defeated enemies, the Poet universally seem to have been well treated by their captors, and almost immediately steps were taken to ensure their full integration into Jie society. A tradition of the Kotido Poet clan

1 Ngole (Paulo) and others, D-3.

is typical of their experience:

When our ancestors were dispersed from the Kalomide area which had been their homes, many came here to Najie. My own people came here to Kotido, and when they arrived the Losogot (clan) were kind to them. They married the daughters of our people and gave them cattle for bride-wealth so that they could become rich. In time, our people also married the daughters of the Losogot. Before our ancestors came here, they were cultivators and had only few cattle. It was the Losogot who first gave us many cattle. Even now, many people refer to our clan as 'Losogot' as well as 'Poet'. But we are not really Losogot, of course. We are simply their good friends, and we marry each other's daughters.<sup>1</sup>

Those Poet who were taken by the Losilang territorial division were also treated well, but were given special tasks to perform for the Jimos ngikeworok as a reminder of their conquest:

My people, the Poet, once lived at Makal together with the Muto Acoli, and also at Longor and the wells at Kapeta. When the Jie attacked my people, the Muto ran back to their mountain in Acholi, and my people were defeated. The father of my grandfather was one of those brought here to live in Najie. The Poet could speak Ajie at that time, but they spoke the Acoli language better. The father of my grandfather and his group of the Poet were brought here to Losilang. They were given the task of helping the ngikeworok. It was God's will, and so it became our work to build the entire granary (of the ekeworon) - even to the poles and the roof; and then we filled it with grain to the very top.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, however, the Jimos entrusted the Poet with important ritual duties, making them the "people of the axe" (ngika-aep) for the Losilang angola ceremonies, and even allowing them to assist the Kathewok as the "people of the axe" for the moiety-wide angola ceremonies performed by the Ngikorwakol as a whole.<sup>3</sup>

1 Lokeler, J-102.

2 Lopeirinyet (Angura), J-87.

3 Longok (Erisa), J-86; Lowot (Lomugereng), J-132.



Those Poet who were taken by the Dodos were joined by others who arrived in the Kopos area voluntarily, fleeing the victorious Jie. So large was the Poet population in Dodos that they were able to form their own largely autonomous Dodos section, Ngikaato ("those of the west"), centred on Kopos, to the west of the Lokorikituk section and south of the Lomeris (see Map 12). As already noted above (pp.239;<sup>40</sup> Ch. IV), the newcomers quickly gained considerable ritual importance in their new community and henceforth provided the most important Dodos ngikeworok, similar in function to those of the Jimos and Kalolet among the Jie. With the addition of this third section, the Dodos community was now entering the final stages of its evolution. Although composed of many of the same Koten-Magos and Agricultural Paraniotic elements as the Jie, the Dodos evolutionary experience had been rather different and entirely separate from that of the Jie community. At the time of the final destruction of the Poet in about 1840, there can be no doubt that the Dodos regarded the Jie as an alien community whose newly won control over the Kapeta grazing and watering resources was viewed with both envy and resentment.

### 3. The Eastern and Southern Neighbours of the Jie

An important factor in the complete victory of the Jie over the Poet was undoubtedly the steady supply of iron weapons by the friendly Labwor (see pp.35-<sup>20</sup>, Ch.V, above). By the time of the Poet war, the Jie had secured yet another source of iron-ware. The originally Fringe Cushitic-speaking Ngikuliak hunters and gatherers, who had retreated to

the fastness of Maru Hill with the advent of the immigrants from Koten, (see Ch. III, above), Jie traditions which describe the iron-making and workmanship of their iron-ware should probably be treated with caution. Still, it seems clear that the Ngikuliak were not isolated as the Labwor, and that the Ngikuliak did concentrate on making iron-making game-meat, honey, ostrich egg shell beads, wild animal skins and smaller pieces of iron-ware; and shields, sandals and other articles made from hides in exchange for barren livestock and milk.<sup>1</sup> As a result of a famine (most probably the Laparanat), some impoverished Labwor blacksmiths arrived at Maru from the west and were taken in by the Ngikuliak. In gratitude, the Labwor taught Lolemutum, a leader of the Ngikuliak, the art of iron-making before departing to their own country with the return of better times.<sup>2</sup> Lolemutum and his band of Ngikuliak set up foundries at Maru and began to fashion various kinds of iron-ware to trade with the Jie. Some Ngikuliak even copied the Labwor and began to make itinerant journeys around Najie, hawking their wares from settlement to settlement.<sup>3</sup>

1 Interviews including J-4, 65 and 78.

2 Interviews including J-28, 129 and L-6. Jie informants, in line with their tendency to belittle the Ngikuliak (see Ch. III above), volunteered no information concerning the Ngikuliak iron-making until an archaeological investigation of Ngikuliak sites on Maru revealed a great deal of various kinds of iron-ware. After these investigations (which were jointly conducted with Mr. Weatherby, see Appendix 5), I began to inquire about Ngikuliak iron-making, and in response to this direct questioning, Jie informants began to provide a great deal of information. However, it was still unclear from their testimonies whether the Ngikuliak learned to smelt iron or whether they simply fashioned various pieces of iron-ware from pig iron obtained from the Labwor. On a subsequent visit to Maru, my wife, Molly, discovered iron slag, and a piece of a smelting tube was also discovered. These supported traditions collected later in my research which claimed that the Ngikuliak were indeed able to smelt iron as well as to smith it.

3 Apangolen, J-67.



Because of their inherent belief in the "inferiority" of the Ngikuliak (see Ch.III, above), Jie traditions which describe the poor quality and workmanship of their iron-ware should probably be treated with caution. Still, it seems clear that the Ngikuliak were not as skilled as the Labwor, and that the Ngikuliak did concentrate on making ornaments and smaller pieces of iron-ware:

The Ngikuliak learned to make iron, but not very well. They could make iron beads and chains and such things, but they couldn't make useful things like spears or axes.<sup>1</sup>

At any rate, it seems very likely that the Ngikuliak smiths were able to meet much of the Jie demand for iron ornaments and chains for public aprons by the time of the Poet war. Undoubtedly this permitted the more skillful Labwor to focus their energies on the manufacture of iron weapons which played so decisive a role in the crushing of the Poet.

By the early years of the nineteenth century, then, it is clear that the Jie demand for iron-ware was easily being met by the Labwor, and to a lesser extent by the Ngikuliak. Indeed, by a date which must have corresponded closely to the commencement of the Poet war (about 1810-20), the smiths were obviously quite capable of producing a surfeit of iron-ware, for the Jie were beginning to play an increasingly import-

1 Lopor (and others) J-38. Archaeological investigations at Maru revealed the remains of both spears and axes, however, and Ngikuliak claimed that limited numbers of these articles were made by their ancestors. A large number of iron arrow-heads, many of them of the type used for the blocked arrows with which Jie livestock is bled, were also found at Maru. Although no informant specifically referred to them, these arrow-heads may well have been another item produced by the Ngikuliak for the Jie. See Appendix 5.

ant middle-man role in the traffic of Labwor iron goods eastwards to the Turkana. Iron-ware was not the only commodity being traded to the Turkana. Rather, a fairly constant flow of a variety of trade items appears to have gone on between the two peoples throughout the latter part of the eighteenth and the entire nineteenth centuries. Amongst the Jie, the women of Nakapelimoru territorial division became relatively skilled potters, and their cooking and water pots were held in great esteem by the Turkana, none of whom could make pottery of their own. Although it happened no more often than once in several years, Najie was sometimes blessed with an exceedingly good rainy season, and at such times there would be a great surplus in sorghum and other agricultural produce. During such "good years", it was not uncommon for a considerable amount of grain and other produce to be traded to the Turkana:

"When times were good in Najie, the Turkana used to drive cattle to Najie, to trade them for sorghum. Often the Turkana took donkeys with them to carry the food back to their homes."<sup>1</sup>

As this tradition indicates, it was mainly livestock (especially cattle) which the Turkana exchanged for the Jie (or Labwor) goods, although a special blue clay, used for mudding their elaborate headdresses, and found only in Turkana-land, was in great demand by the Jie. Perhaps somewhat curiously, the Jie seem to have been little concerned with making any substantial profit from their commercial activity, and certainly nothing resembling a class of "professional" traders ever arose among the Jie (with the notable exception of those who appeared temporarily after the great disasters of the late nineteenth century, discussed

<sup>1</sup> Pelek, Akwawi and others T-7.



in the following chapter). As there was considerable intermarriage between the Jie and Turkana throughout their entire historical experience, one gets the impression that much of the commercial activity was in fact conducted between affinal kinsmen. Indeed, a number of traditions recall that goods were sometimes "given freely" by one group to the other, although a reciprocal gift was clearly expected when the original donors should fall upon harder times.<sup>1</sup>

As described above (pp. 228-9, Ch. IV), the emigration of the Turkana was of expansion was directed against those Samburu between dissatisfied Ngimonia Turkana had taken them eastwards from Najie, Pelekec and the western shore of Lake Rudolf. The Samburu, together with back across the Kote-Magos area, and on down the escarpment to the headwaters of the Tarash River where they joined with the pre-existing series of massive defeats. Large numbers of them were captured and assimilated into Turkana society, and the survivors were beaten back, first of the Tarash soon became aware of the existence of other peoples just to the shores of the lake, and finally right around its southern tip to their east. At night the Turkana could see fires flickering on the country still occupied by the Samburu south-east of the lake. At Pelekec and other hills, and young men were sent out to investigate:

As the Turkana began to push out from Moru Anayece (on the upper Tarash), they encountered 'red people' (arengak angowat). We say they were 'red people' because they had very light skins. They also covered their hair and bodies red with clay. They were different from the Turkana or the people who were in Najie, all of whom were black people. Those 'red people' were the Ngikor (Samburu). The Turkana fought them and drove them away from the places near Tarash.<sup>2</sup>

1 The following brief reconstruction of the process described is almost identical to that given in the text. It would seem likely that these first conflicts with the Samburu took place during the time spanned by the initiations of the Turkana informants, I shall not cite specific interviews.

2 Spencer, P., pp. 145-6 of Chapter 7: "The Recent History of the Turkana". This is very much in line with the notion of "bond friendship", a relationship entered into by non-kinmen to establish reciprocal stock rights. See Gulliver (1955), *op.cit.*, pp. 209-12.

2. Eregai, Eri and Mana, T-18.

Spencer noted (p. 146) that the Samburu considered the Turkana "bond fighters" who did not acknowledge the conventions of capture shared by most of the other tribes in the area.



Nginate (or Ngisuguru) asapanu, which probably initiated between about 1760 and 1800 (see Figure 5, Ch.IV, above). Having taken the Pelekec area, the Turkana appear to have been satisfied for a time with its occupation and settlement and with raiding those Samburu who lived beyond Pelekec for livestock (whereby they acquired their first camels). During the initiations of the next asapanu, Ngiputiro (c.1800-40), however, the Turkana embarked on a period of territorial expansion quite unparalleled by any other Central Paraniotic-speaking people.<sup>1</sup> The first of the Turkana wars of expansion was directed against those Samburu between Pelekec and the western shore of Lake Rudolf. The Samburu, together with the Rendille and Boran peoples with whom they were allied, were handed a series of massive defeats. Large numbers of them were captured and assimilated into Turkana society, and the survivors were beaten back, first to the shores of the Lake, and finally right around its southern tip into the country still occupied by the Samburu south-east of the Lake. According to traditions collected by Spencer amongst the Samburu, the vanguard of the expanding Turkana was pushing south-eastwards from Lake Rudolf towards Lake Baringo during the initiations of the Kipayang age-set of the Samburu, which was initiating between about 1823 and 1837,<sup>2</sup> and Dundas, writing in 1910, estimated that the expansion had successfully penetrated

- 1 The following brief reconstruction of the Turkana expansion is based almost entirely on information collected during the 20 interviews I conducted in Turkana. Because there was such a close correspondence in the traditions relating to this expansion by virtually all my Turkana informants, I shall not cite specific interviews.
- 2 Spencer, P., pp. 145-6 of Chapter 5: "The Recent History of the Samburu and Rendille" from his book on the Samburu and Rendille which is awaiting publication. I am grateful to Dr. Spencer for giving me a copy of the offprints of this chapter and for discussing several aspects of Samburu and Turkana history with me both before and after my field work.

Spencer noted (p.146) that the Samburu considered the Turkana "fierce fighters who did not acknowledge the conventions of warfare shared by most of the other tribes in the area."



to Baringo by about 1840.<sup>1</sup>

While the centre of the Turkana expansion thus drove the Samburu the north west towards Lake Rudolf, many of them only reached the and their allies east, and then south-east around the lake, a northern area near Moru Kris west of the lake before the group halted, and large and a southern wing of the expanding Turkana swung out from the centre. numbers died of starvation and exhaustion. A place called Sogot The northern wing/smashed pockets of Dongiro at Lorionotom, Mogila and ("rotten") still marks the area in which their corpses littered the ground. Some of the survivors eventually reached the lake, while others north into the Sudan. Dodos settlers who had begun to descend the escarpment into the Oropoi and the Ngimorutai areas were also attacked, into Turkana society where they still exist as the Ngisigari division, and beaten back up the escarpment into Karamoja. The southern wing of Many of the other Ngisigari, including most of the Central Parani- the Turkana encountered a community of/kalenjin-speaking Pokot ("Upe" to speaking elements, also shared Moru Apalon, and retreated to the the Turkana) near Losogom in what was to become southern Turkana-land west, climbing the escarpment to enter Karamoja in the same river area, and split them in two: one group fleeing southwards to the safety of as will be described below. the Pokot Hills; and the other trekking north-wards across central Turkana-land to the northern tip of Lake Rudolf where they formed the core of the Marille people ("Malire" to the Turkana). The Turkana southern wing also encountered an extremely heterogeneous group, remembered in the traditions as "Ngisigari", who lived all around the massif known as Moru Apalon ("the great mountain") or Moru Asigar ("the mountain of the Ngisigari"), just below the escarpment, in what became south-western Turkana-land. Those Ngisigari, who appear to have been a loose confederation of Kalenjin-, Southern Parani- and Central Parani- speaking elements, were utterly routed by the Turkana attacks and, like numbers, were forced to rely almost entirely on the Pokot-Marille group, widely dispersed. A large proportion of them, a supply of labor-made iron weapons. Turkana traditions still recall the important supporting role in the expansion played by the Marille

1 Dundas, K.R. "Notes on the Tribes Inhabiting the Baringo District", JRAI, XI, 1910, pp.50-1. From the observations he made in the 1880's, Von Hohnel concluded that the Samburu had been driven from the western side of Lake Rudolf "a few decades ago" (Von Hohnel, L., The Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie, Vol. II, London, 1894, p.185. On p. 236, he again estimates that the event took place about 50 years before, i.e. about 1835.

1 Lokimok, T-14. The Turkana claim to have invented wrist-knives, produced during their expansion, and their claim is supported by people in Karamoja who copied the idea from the Turkana. The wrist-knives were made from bars of pig iron (agaga) which were also imported from



reeling under the Turkana onslaught and smitten almost simultaneously with a famine caused by a drought, abandoned Moru Apalon and fled to the north west towards Lake Rudolf. Many of them only reached the area near Moru Eris west of the Lake before the group halted, and large numbers died of starvation and exhaustion. A place called Kabosan ("rotten") still marks the area in which their corpses littered the ground. Some of the survivors eventually reached the Lake, while others moved southwards to the Tirikol River, but both groups were soon absorbed into Turkana society where they still exist as the Ngisigari division. Many of the other Ngisigari, including most of the Central Paraniotic-speaking elements, also abandoned Moru Apalon, and retreated to the west, climbing the escarpment to enter Karamoja in the Apule River area, as will be described below.

In the span of a single generation-set, then, the Turkana swept aside all opposition and occupied a vast territorial area almost equivalent in size to the area they presently inhabit. (Only the areas in the far south-west, and some areas south of the Tirikol, remained to be captured by following generations.) The Turkana population was greatly increased as vast numbers of defeated aliens were absorbed into Turkana society.

The Turkana, who included no smelters or blacksmiths in their numbers, were forced to rely almost entirely on the friendly Jie for a supply of Labwor-made iron weapons. Turkana traditions still recall the important supporting role in the expansion played by the Jie:

The Ngikor, Upe, Malire, and Karimojong were all defeated and driven from this land by our ancestors. All those people were defeated with spears made by the Labwor and brought to us by our Jie friends.<sup>1</sup>

1 Lokimak, T-14. The Turkana claim to have invented wrist-knives, probably during their expansion, and their claim is supported by peoples in Karamoja who copied the idea from the Turkana. The wrist-knives were made from bars of pig iron (apuru) which were also imported from



The expansion of the Turkana was to be of great, if somewhat indirect, consequence to the Jie community. The Ngisigari confederation at Moru Apalon, described above, was made up of such diverse elements that it is difficult to be completely certain of its exact composition. Nevertheless, it does seem certain that it was partly made up of Central Paraniotic-speaking elements from that group of Koten-Magos peoples who had occupied the Apule River area south of the Magos Hills sometime in the early part of the eighteenth century (see p. 213, Ch. IV, above). When the southern sub-division of the Koten-Magos group occupied the Apule area, some of them, including the majority of those who were eventually to form the Matheniko section of the Karimojong, spilled eastwards down the escarpment where they occupied areas along the western foot of Moru Apalon and became part of the Ngisigari confederation (see Map 13). Both Karimojong and Turkana traditions clearly recall their presence at Moru Apalon and their subsequent expulsion during the Turkana wars of expansion:

When the Bokora (section of the Karimojong) were living at Nakwakipi near Apule, our Matheniko ancestors were down there at Moru Apalon, at the well called Lokepoto. The Turkana lived to the east at that time and they referred to our people as "Ngisigari". There is still a big clan of the Matheniko called by that name. Our people herded their cattle and planted their gardens at Moru Apalon until the Turkana attacked and drove them up to Apule, where they joined again with the Bokora.<sup>1</sup>

Moru Apalon is often called "Moru Asigar" because the Ngisigari lived there. Those Ngisigari who lived on this side of the mountain were Ngikor (Samburu) and I myself am descended from them. On the other side of the mountain were other Ngisigari, but they were really Karimojong. They were at Akwapua, Sogo, Lokoromeri, Lakepoto and other places. Only some of the Karimojong were there - others

Footnote 1 continued from previous page

the Labwor via the Jie, the Turkana hammering out the bars to fashion knives. The Jie were also able to do this.

1 Emanikor and Lodum, MTK-1.

lived up there above the escarpment in the direction of Moroto. Then the Turkana came and chased all the Ngisigari away. My own ancestors were captured and became Turkana, while those Karimojong ran back to their brothers up there (in Karamoja).<sup>1</sup>

The arrival of the Moru Apalon refugees in the Apule area put severe pressures on the resources of the already over-crowded area,<sup>2</sup> and the Apule group desperately began to search for new areas in which to expand. To the north-west were the Jie well established in the area beyond Mt. Toror, and to the east and north-east were the Turkana occupying every area along the foot of the escarpment. It was to the south, then, across the Apule, that the group began to turn its attention. Fortunately for them, there were by the early years of the nineteenth century considerable population movements going on amongst many of those peoples (most of them Agricultural Paraniotic; see p. 206 and Map 4, Ch. III, above) who had been the previous inhabitants of the trans-Apule area. Much of this movement was westwards out of Karamoja into eastern Teso, and it is remembered to have been caused by a "great famine", most probably the Laparanat:

My ancestors, the Ngariama lived at Lokales (in the southern part of what was to become the Karimojong area), and their neighbours and friends were the Kumama (Iteso)..... Then came the great famine. The Ngariama and the Kumama had had a few cattle, but they all died. No rain fell and all the crops

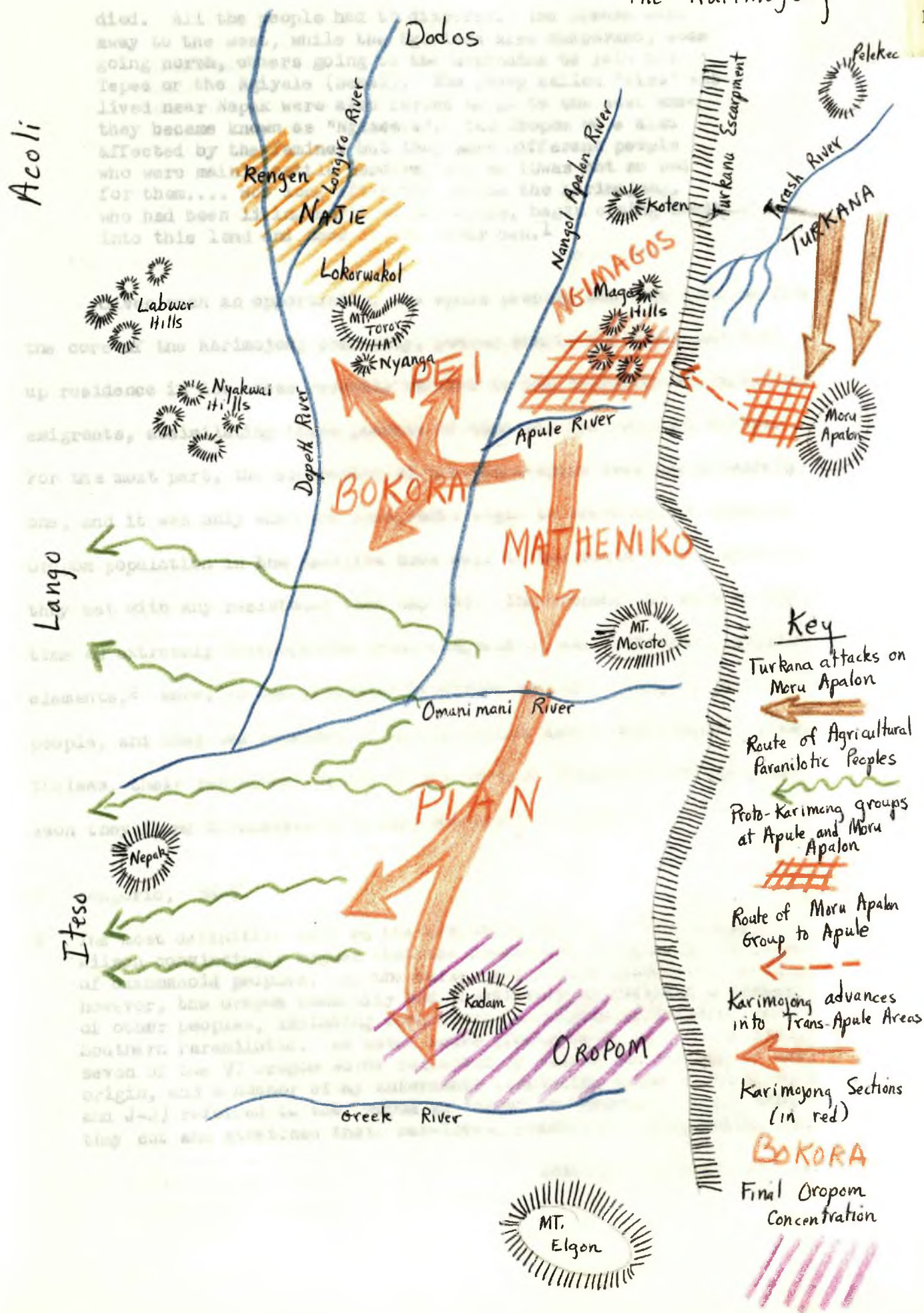
1 Nawoto, T-19

2 It will be recalled that when the Lokorikituk immigrants arrived from the north at the end of the eighteenth century (see pp. 270-1, Ch. V, above), the Apule River area was already seriously overcrowded. Apparently the departure of those Apule elements who accompanied the Lokorikituk back to the north provided only marginal relief, and the situation seems to have been quite critical by the time of the arrival of the "Ngisigari" refugees some years later.



## The Expansion of the Karimojong

MAP 13





died. All the people had to disperse. The Kumama went away to the west, while the Ngariamama also dispersed, some going north, others going to the mountains to join the Tepes or the Ngiyale (Sebei). The group called "Miro" who lived near Napak were also forced to go to the west where they became known as "Ngiseera". The Oropom were also affected by the famine, but they were different people who were mainly cattle herders, and so it was not so bad for them.... Not long after the famine the Karimojong, who had been living north of the Apule, began coming south into this land and took it for their own.<sup>1</sup>

Given such an opportunity, the Apule people, who were soon to form the core of the Karimojong community, poured across the river and took up residence in the areas recently vacated by the Agricultural Paraniilotic emigrants, assimilating those pockets of them who had remained behind. For the most part, the occupation of the trans-Apule area was a peaceful one, and it was only when the immigrants began to encounter the sizeable Oropom population in the Kaceliba area well to the south of the Apule that they met with any resistance (see Map 13). The Oropom, who were by this time an extremely heterogeneous group composed of many different linguistic elements,<sup>2</sup> were, as the preceding tradition states, a largely pastoral people, and they had remained virtually intact during the famine. Nevertheless, their resistance melted in the face of Karimojong attacks, and soon they found themselves in a very desperate situation:

1 Longorio, BK-9

2 The most definitive work on the Oropom is Wilson (1970), *op.cit.*.. Wilson convincingly argues that the Oropom were originally composed of bushmanoid peoples. By the early part of the nineteenth century, however, the Oropom community had doubtlessly assimilated a variety of other peoples, including some whose linguistic affiliation was Southern Paraniilotic. As noted above (footnote 2, p. 137, Ch. III), seven of the 97 Oropom words collected by Wilson are clearly of Maasai origin, and a number of my informants (including those of BK-6, 7, 8 and J-2) referred to the Oropom as "Masa" or "Maasai", adding that they cut and stretched their ear-lobes, practiced circumcision, coloured

continued on next page .....



The Karimojong kept beating the Oropom and drove them further and further south. Finally the Oropom became tired of running. They began killing their cattle to make leather ropes out of their skins. They tied themselves together with those ropes so that none could run away. They said, "We are tired of running - it is better that we should all die here together."<sup>1</sup>

Writing in 1916, Captain Turpin reported that the destruction of the Oropom took place during the time of the grandfathers of his informants, and Lawrance and more recently Wilson, have agreed that the Oropom were dispersed by about 1830.<sup>2</sup> From Sebei oral tradition, Weatherby has similarly estimated that the first Karimojong raids directed against the Mt. Elgon area were pushing southwards across the headwaters of the Greek River sometime during the 1830's.<sup>3</sup>

Footnote 2 continued from previous page

their hair with red clay and kept a peculiar type of black cattle with unusually long horns. It would seem very likely that an important clue to the identity of these "Maasai Oropom" is provided by Jacobs (1965, op.cit. pp.54-9) in his description of the "Iloikop wars" which took place on the Uasin Gishu Plateau at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. A number of Uasin Gishu Maasai and related "Iloikop" groups were clearly dispersed at this time, and some are remembered in Maasai oral tradition to have "completely disappeared". It would seem very probable, then, that some of these dispersed elements fled north and joined with the Oropom in Southern Karamoja not long before their destruction by the Karimojong.

1 Loyep (John) and Lobanyang (Esoro), BK-2.

2 Turpin, C.S. "The Occupation of the Turkwel River Area by the Karamojong Tribe", UJ 12, 1948, and EA-2364, Part III; Lawrance (1957), op.cit., p.10; Wilson (1970), op.cit., p.126

3 Weatherby, J.M. "Inter-Tribal warfare on Mt. Elgon in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", U.J., 26, 1962, pp.200, 204 and Map on p.210. Based on Tepes oral traditions and genealogies, Weatherby in personal communication estimated that the first Karimojong settlers coming south from the Apule had established themselves in the Moroto area perhaps a decade before these raids on Elgon.

These dates for the southern expansion of the Karimojong and the destruction of the Oropom tie in well with Karimojong traditions which state that the occupation of the trans-Apule area went on during the time of the initiations of the Ngigete asapana and was complete by the time the following asapana, Ngingatunyo, was inaugurated. Reference to Figure 5, Ch.IV, above, shows that dates thus indicated would be between about 1800 and 1840.

As noted above, except for the resistance offered by the Oropom, therefore, virtually the occupation of most of the territory beyond the Apule was carried out both peacefully and rapidly. By about 1840 the people who had crossed the Apule, together with those pockets of previous inhabitants whom they had assimilated, had evolved the Karimojong community, composed of three major, and several minor, territorial sections. The Matheniko, one of the major sections, and which comprised many of the former "Ngisigari" elements of Moru Apalon, inhabited the area southwards from the Apule and around the eastern foot of Mt. Moroto; while the Pian, another of the major sections, composed mainly of Matheniko break-aways, lived further south, in the areas once inhabited by the Ngariam and Oropom. The third major section, the Bokora, occupied the more western parts of the newly acquired area, with territory extending almost as far north as the southern foot of Mt. Toror, beyond which lay Najie. Two of the minor sections, the Ngipei, just to the south-east of Toror, and the Ngimagos, living in part of the area once inhabited by the Koton-Magos concentration, also occupied territories which lay adjacent to Najie (see Map 13). Unwittingly, then, the supplying of iron-weapons by the Jie community to their friends, the Turkana, had



helped to set off a rapid chain of events which culminated in the appearance of a numerically powerful community along much of the southern and south-eastern frontier of Najie.

By some date just prior to the mid-nineteenth century, the Jie were clearly becoming aware of the Karimojong presence to the south and south-east, while to the north they were even more keenly aware of the presence of the longer established Dodos. By the middle of the nineteenth century, therefore, virtually all of the independent Agricultural Paraniotic communities were gone, having retreated westwards out of Karamoja, or having been assimilated by the new, more heterogeneous Central Paraniotic-speaking societies which replaced them. The Jie community found itself in the rather unenviable position of being sandwiched between its more numerically powerful northern and southern neighbours, each of whom, like the Jie, based a large part of its economy on transhumant pastoralism. Although all three communities contained a core of clans descended from elements of the Koton-Magos concentration, together with assimilated Agricultural Paraniotic and other elements, each had undergone its own peculiar evolution, unparalleled by the other two. It is hardly surprising that by mid-century each group regarded itself as completely different and totally independent from the others. Nor is it surprising that, as each community strove to assert its control over important resources of water, grazing and (in some instances) salt-licks on the peripheries of its settled area, friction between them should develop. Because of its unfortunate geographical position and its numerical inferiority, the Jie community was to be at the centre of this friction which, from the middle of the nineteenth century, ushered in an era of conflict unlike any that had gone before; an era which was to be of critical importance to the development of the Jie community.

## CHAPTER VII

THE ERA OF WARFARE, DISASTERS AND STRANGERS

Prior to the second half of the nineteenth century, the Jie community had experienced little in the way of major military conflict. The one great exception to an otherwise basically peaceful history was the Poet war in which the armies of the Ngisiroi asapanu had crushed the last major Agricultural Paraniotic community in north-central Karamoja, as was described in the preceding chapter. While one suspects that the "Camkok tradition" may be a truncated recollection of a rather longer conflict with the western Kapwor (see p. 287, Ch. V, above), there is nothing to suggest that whatever fighting may have occurred was any more than a series of cattle raids, albeit intensive ones. Jie traditions do indicate that a certain amount of desultory raiding against other neighbouring peoples went on prior to the mid-nineteenth century, but such activity was clearly more in the nature of petty thievery than outright warfare. In the words of Jie informants:

Before the time of Aluii (a battle-leader who was active from about the middle of the century, see below) there were raids and people fought with whips. But there were not the same big wars as there were afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

Even in the years following the inauguration in about 1840 of the Ngikokol asapanu, the sons of the victorious Ngisiroi, conflict with neighbouring peoples does not appear to have been very serious, as the following traditions describing a raid on the Acoli demonstrate:

After their inauguration, the young men of the Ngikokol stayed at the ngawoi in the west for several years without

1 Nakade (Peter), Loceng (Natwanga) and others, J-16.



coming home, and they began to think of themselves as very strong and brave. Their fathers, the Ngimadanga (anyamet of Ngisiroi), became very angry with them for not coming home and they gave them the nick-name Ngikiwan (little children). The Ngikokol therefore organised a big raid against the Acoli at Logili without telling their fathers, but they were badly defeated by the Acoli...<sup>1</sup> After they were beaten by the Acoli, they ran back to the Kanamuget River which they found swollen with rain. Some of them managed to escape, but many were swept away and drowned. Those who escaped came back to Najie with only one (captured) cow.<sup>2</sup>

As noted in the preceeding chapters, however, the evolution of the Dodos and Karimojong communities to the north and south of Najie, respectively, steadily built up pressures in the peripheral grazing areas of Najie, as the cattle camps of all three communities strove to assert their control over vital dry-season resources. By the middle of the nineteenth century such rivalries were most acute along the borderland near Mt. Toror, which separated the southern territorial divisions of the Ngikorwakol from the northern settlements of the Bokora Karimojong. The Panyangara, who were the southernmost of the Ngikorwakol divisions, clustered near their deep wells at Lokibuwo, experienced the closest contacts with the newly arriving Bokora:

The Karimojong found that they lacked grass and sorghum in their old area (ie. the Apule River area), and their cattle were dying. Some therefore came to the northwest towards Toror. Those were the Bokora. When they first arrived, they found the Panyangara settled near Toror and at first there was peace. The Bokora made an agreement with the Panyangara and all was well. But then they grew jealous for they saw that the Jie had many cattle and much sorghum and that their place was good. It was mostly the young men of the Bokora who lived near Toror, and they began to raid the Jie cattle, as young men do.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Teko (Apalokoero), Acukwa (Urule), Lokoryang (Adoon), and Lokori (Atiangolem), J-21.
- 2 Lokelo (Anjelo) and others, J-43.
- 3 Looru (Sampson), Tede (Teko) and others J-9.

The friction engendered in the Toror area had its first effects, not on either of the main participants, but on two of the smaller groups who unfortunately inhabited neighbouring areas. The first to be affected were a group of Fringe Cushitic-speaking Tepes, who were mainly engaged in trapping and gathering on Toror itself and on Nyanga, an isolated peak just to the south. Seeking to turn the rivalry to their advantage, the Tepes tried to join in the cattle raiding themselves, but only incurred the swift retribution of the Karimojong and the Jie, and were forced to abandon their homes and flee south to another Tepes community on Mt. Moroto.<sup>1</sup> Like the Tepes, the Nyakwai, who lived in the hills south-west of Toror, also tried their hand at raiding, and succeeded in making off with a number of Jie cattle before several of the southern divisions of Lokorwakol banded together and launched so severe an attack on them that the Nyakwai were even forced to flee from their hills for a time.<sup>2</sup> This open conflict with the Tepes and Nyakwai may have done much temporarily to relieve the friction which was building up between the Jie and Bokora. At any rate, the first major hostilities along the new frontiers were not in the Toror area, but further east in the Koten and Magos Hills area which had been the former homeland of the Koten-Magos group.

- 1 Lonyakangan (and others), J-65. Other informants, including those of J-30 and J-131, stated that a chronic shortage of water contributed to their departure.
- 2 Adiaka and Adiako (Cesere), NY-2; also Herring, *op.cit.*, pp.9-10. According to one tradition collected by Herring (p.10), the Bokora were very angry with the Nyakwai for having raided the Jie herds and forced the Nyakwai to return all the cattle they had stolen. It would seem likely, therefore, that those events happened during the early stages of the Jie-Bokora rivalry, while the Bokora were still anxious to avoid any excessive provocation of the Jie. Herring estimates that the Nyakwai returned to their hills between about 1840 and 1850 after their dispersal by the Jie.



By the middle of the nineteenth century, the area was occupied by a people who took their name, 'Ngimagos', from the Magos Hills, and who were closely associated with Karimojong sections to their west and south by that date.<sup>1</sup> As noted in the preceding chapter, the Jie and the Turkana had maintained a fairly close relationship largely based on the trade in Labwor iron-ware, and by some date not long after 1850, both the Turkana and the Jie clearly regarded the Ngimagos, inhabiting the area between Najie and the Turkana escarpment, as a hinderance to free passage between the two areas:

After the Turkana went away from Najie to Tarash, the Ngimagos who lived at Koten and Magos began to cause trouble. If Turkana tried to come to Najie for any reason, the Ngimagos would ambush them near Koten. This angered the Turkana and the Jie, and the Turkana began to fight them.<sup>2</sup>

1 Subsequently, the Ngimagos came to be regarded as a Karimojong minor section. Their origin remains something of a mystery, however. Dyson-Hudson (op.cit., p.138) noted that the Ngimagos seem to have been "a foreign settlement group of Jie/Turkana affiliation and for a period lived separately and independently from Karimojong." Dyson-Hudson's reference to a "Jie/Turkana affiliation" is somewhat puzzling, and this was strongly denied by virtually all Jie informants, including those descended from assimilated Ngimagos who took up residence in Najie during the latter half of the nineteenth century. On several occasions, however, it was noted that both Karimojong and Dodos informants had a distinct tendency to describe Agricultural Paraniotic peoples as "like Jie", undoubtedly because there is a rather greater Agricultural Paraniotic element in Jie society than in their own. The hypothesis that the Ngimagos may have been originally an Agricultural Paraniotic group was strongly supported by a Ngieyan informant (Antonio Lokidi, Y-1), himself a member of the large "Magos" clan of the Ngieyan; who claimed that the Ngimagos were originally a group of Ngieyan driven from Mt. Orom to the Magos Hills by a famine and a plague of locusts in the time of the father of his grandfather. A very similar tradition was also collected by Weatherby in an interview with another informant of the Ngieyan just prior to mine. This was further supported by a number of Jie informants, including those of J-120, 124 and 127, some of whom further noted that the Ngimagos women still wear the ecip bridal aprons in the manner of the Ngieyan. Undoubtedly, the matter could have been easily cleared up by interviewing Ngimagos informants. During my stay in Karamoja, however, the Ngimagos were totally dispersed by Turkana raids and despite several strenuous efforts to locate some suitable Ngimagos informants, my goal was never accomplished.

2 Longeria and Nakwo, J-115.

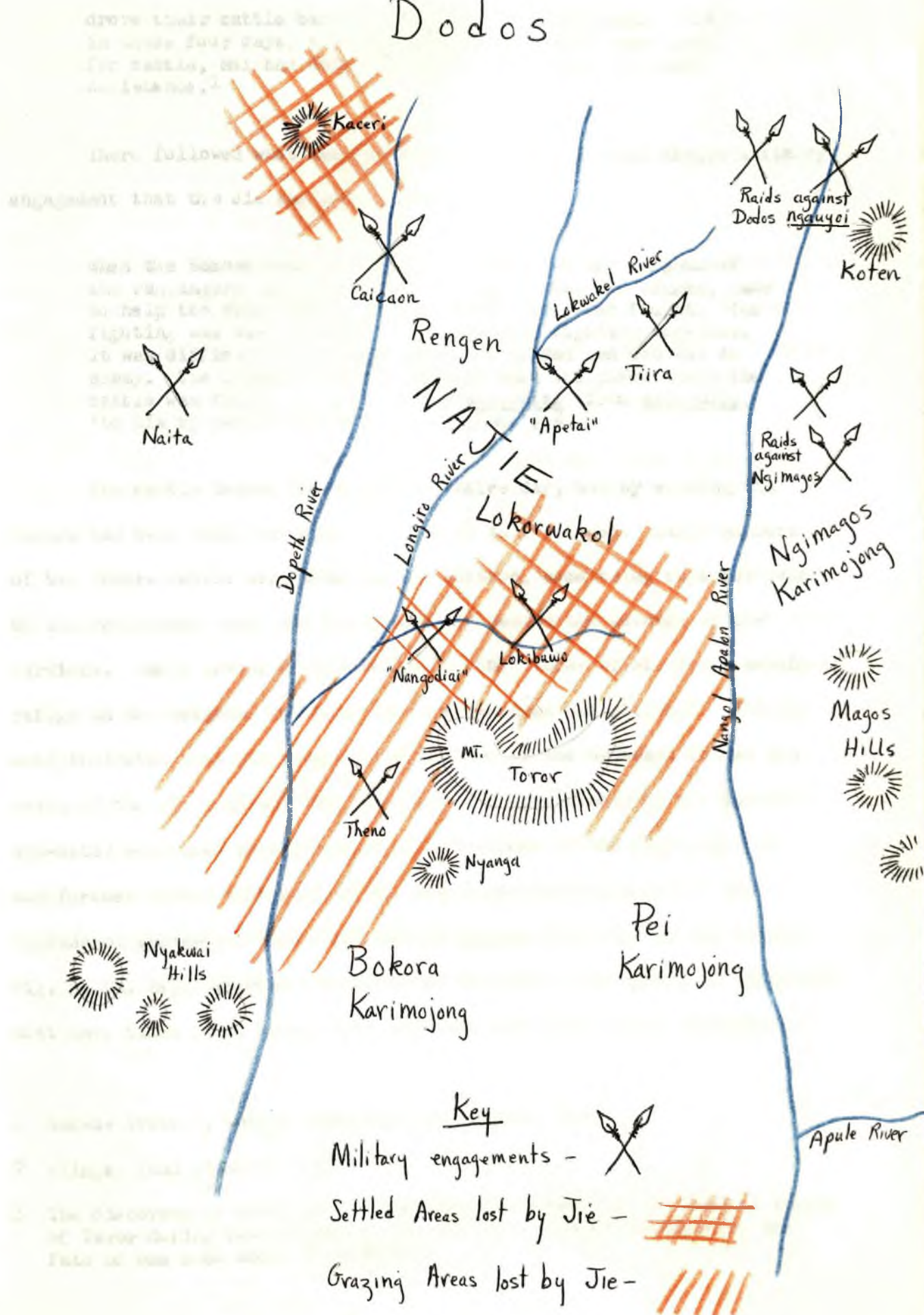


tier, that re  
e Toror area



Major Jie Battles and Raids, c. 1860-1902

# Dodos



drove their cattle back towards the Jie settlements. But in those four days, the Panyangara had prepared themselves for battle, and had asked the other Jie to come to their assistance.<sup>1</sup>

There followed what was probably to be the greatest single military engagement that the Jie had yet experienced:

When the Bokora came to feed their cattle on the sorghum of the Panyangara, the other Jie, including even the Mungen, came to help the Panyangara. A very great battle was fought. The fighting was very confused, with everyone fighting together. It was difficult to be sure who was a friend and who was an enemy. The fighting was so confused that the place where the battle was fought is still called Nangodiai (from akinodia, 'to mix up people together in one place').<sup>2</sup>

The battle lasted for almost an entire day, but by evening the Bokora had been badly defeated and were in full retreat. Large numbers of the Bokora cattle were taken by the victors, some being captured even by the Panyangara women who followed close behind the advance of the warriors. Small groups of Bokora fled up the slopes of Mt. Toror seeking refuge on the heights, but many were tracked down and killed.<sup>3</sup> Informants indicated that the Ngimuria age-section of the Ngikokol formed the basis of the Jie army and that some Ngisiroi (presumably of the junior age-sets) were also active enough to participate in the fighting. It was further stated that most of the Bokora warriors belonged to the Ngikadokoi anyamet of their Ngingatunyo asapanu (see Fig. 3, Ch. II and Fig. 5, Ch. IV). From all indications, therefore, the battle of Nangodiai must have taken place about 1860; and from that date nearly continuous

1 Nakade (Peter), Loceng (Natwanga) and others, J-16.

2 Alinga (and others), J-41

3 The discovery of human skulls and bones in a cave in the central valley of Toror during investigations in 1970 bore grisley evidence to the fate of one such band of fugitives.



warfare was to rage in central Karamoja until the second decade of the twentieth century.

The confused *mâlee* which was the battle of Nangodai provides a convenient opportunity to examine briefly the Jie military system as it existed at that time. Until the end of the nineteenth century Jie military organisation and tactics were little more than rudimentary, and informants indicated that before the Ngikokol *asapanu*, anything which could even vaguely be termed a battle formation was totally lacking:

Before the Ngikoria (or Ngikokol) began their initiations, there were no special arrangements of Jie armies. Everyone would go together in one big group.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem, therefore, that the armies which raided the Kapwor and defeated the Poet were hardly more than armed mobs. Personal bravery was greatly admired and encouraged, and men who killed an enemy in battle were honoured with a "battle name", and were allowed to scar their breasts and shoulders and to cut the ears of their oxen in a special way.<sup>2</sup> Men of outstanding courage and physical prowess became "battle-leaders" to whom a band of 20 or so warriors might attach themselves as a kind of "private company". As noted above, most Jie military activity until after the middle of the nineteenth century took the form of intermittent raiding rather than large-scale campaigns, and

1 Atoong, Lokapel, Looor and Mado, J-25.

2 It is important to note that the Jie, unlike many other African peoples, did not require warriors who had slain enemies to undergo long ritual "cleansings" during which they would be prevented from engaging in further military action. The Jie did prescribe a definite cleansing ritual, but, as the following testimony shows, it did not prevent a warrior from returning to action almost immediately: "When a Jie warrior kills an enemy he has to kill a he-goat and then the contents are smeared on him. He then kills an ox, and bracelets and armlets are made from the skin. He wears those until they fall off, but he is allowed to fight again right away, while he is still wearing them." (Muna Apaesiya, Apalokapel and Lomonyang Apangikiria, J-33).

and a great many of these raids were carried out by a handful of men of a "private company" under the leadership of their chosen battle-leader. Typical of such battle-leaders was Bluii, a man of Komukuny territorial division and a member of the Ngimuria anyamet of the Ngikokol asapanu, who was active during the mid-nineteenth century. Although commanding only a small band of warriors from his own immediate neighbourhood, his bravery and success in raiding is still widely remembered in Jie oral tradition:

Bluii was a brave warrior and a great cattle raider (ekeerwon). He would take five or ten men, or even go alone, and capture large numbers of enemy cattle. He was very fierce.... He used to go against the enemies like a mad-man and crush any who dared to fight him.<sup>1</sup>

While the fame of the battle-leaders depended largely on their success in raids, they also acted as rallying points and often provided the only effective leadership for their "private companies" in larger-scale military actions:

Long ago, Jie armies had no special leaders, except for the brave men who would encourage others by their example.<sup>2</sup>

The chief weapons of the Jie were willowy, eight-foot spears made for them by the Labwor smiths, and heavy rectangular shields made by the Jie themselves or by Ngikuliak trappers from the hides of buffalo, rhino, elephant and especially giraffe. Fighting-sticks, wrist- and finger-knives were used to a much lesser extent in hand to hand fighting. Most warriors carried two spears which they had been trained to use from early

1 Apei (Adolungiro), Lokomolo, and Lotyang, J-22. Also J-18 and J34.

2 Lobilatam, J-11.



childhood by throwing sticks through a rolling ekorobe hoop, and the average warrior could invariably hit a moving target at twenty-five yards or more. Formal military training did not exist, but the rigours (and indeed the dangers) of their life at the cattle-camps in itself served to toughen the young men both physically and psychologically. At dances and rituals, boys had a frequent opportunity to observe mock battles and to watch the stylized dodging and bobbing used by the warriors as a means of defence against enemy spears in a battle situation. From adolescence, young men developed fierce rivalries over girls which invariably culminated in whip or stick fights in which severe scarring and broken bones were frequent. As noted in Chapter V, their initiation into the asapanu-system ensured that young men learned discipline and respect for authority.<sup>1</sup>

With the beginning of Ngikokol initiations in about 1840, when the Karimojong and Dodos pressures along the frontiers of Najie were beginning to become apparent, a military organisation for offensive actions was devised, based on the nganyameta (age-sets) of the men who composed the army:

Armies would be arranged by nganyameta. The senior anyamet would be placed in the centre, with the others formed up to the right and left. The army would then advance toward the enemy like the fingers of a hand, with each 'finger' being one anyamet.<sup>2</sup> (See Figure 7).

The constituent nganyameta would be distinguished by the wearing of particular feathers and other decorations proper to their status in

1 Interviews including J-18, 44 and 125.

2 Lowot, Loworo, Lobwal and others J-8.

the asapanu-system (see p. 295 ,Ch. V), with more senior nganyameta tending to wear elaborate ostrich feather headdresses and baboon-skin capes, and the juniors wearing only a single plume.<sup>1</sup> Tactics, however, continued to be conceived of in terms of raiding, and the capture of livestock was often considered more important than decisively defeating the enemy:

In a big fight the various nganyameta of the army had their own jobs to do. I mean, the older nganyameta would try to capture the cattle of the enemy, and the younger nganyameta, who had little experience in fighting, would be told to drive the cattle back towards Najie while the older nganyameta protected them.<sup>2</sup>

Although the armies were thus (at least theoretically) organised by age-sets, each 'finger' of the battle-formation continued to be composed largely of the "private companies" owing allegiance mainly, if not entirely, to their own chosen battle-leader. Thus, a Jie army prior to the latter part of the nineteenth century was more of a patchwork of independent squadrons than a cohesive army. With these organisation and tactics, it is hardly surprising that the battle against the Karimojong at Toror should have been called Nangodi - 'confusion'!

Such tactics and organisation appear to have been typical of all the Central Paraniotic societies of that time. The Jie did have one at least potentially important refinement, however: the hereditary war-leader (ekapalon ka-ajoie). Each Jie moiety had its own clan from which

1 Lokac (Lomoramoe), Lomoni (Belukamoe) and Apeyo (Coban), J-49.

2 Angura (and others) J-19.



the leaders were chosen; for the Ngikorwakol it was the Lodoca of Panyangara division and for the Rengen it was a branch of the Kalolet of Lokatap division, the same clan which provided the Rengen ngike-worok after about 1830. The earliest of the Lodoca war-leaders specifically recalled in the traditions is Meron, a member of the Ngikok asapanu, who was succeeded before the middle of the nineteenth century by his son, Acuka, who belonged to the Ngisiroi asapanu. Acuka's Rengen contemporary was a man called Natebele, who was a member of the Ngiyarameri anyamet of the Ngisiroi.<sup>1</sup>

Although in theory the hereditary war-leader was regarded as the commander of all the military forces of his moiety, in practice his authority was clearly minimal. As noted in previous chapters, the actual planning of large-scale raids and other military activities was entrusted to the congregation of senior elders, while ritual preparations were carried out by the Fire Makers, and to a much lesser extent, by the diviners. As argued above, the actual leadership on the battle-field was mainly provided by the individual battle-leaders over their largely autonomous "private companies", and by far the majority of military activity took the form of small-scale raids, again under the leadership of individual battle-leaders. Eluli, the fierce Komukuny battle-leader and raider discussed above, is far better remembered in the oral tradition than the hereditary war-leader, Acuka, who was theoretically his commander. The role of the hereditary war-leader, therefore, appears to have been little more than that of a figure-head who might at best hope to have some say in deciding matters of strategy (such as they were) and perhaps provide a certain cohesive element to

1 Lobwal, J-34; Kojo (Looya) and Lolwanamoe, J-60.

bring about some integration of the highly segmentary armies. His control over an army was undoubtedly marginal, and after a successful operation he would go entirely unheeded as his warriors brawled among themselves to lay claim to captured cattle or other booty.<sup>1</sup>

The Jie therefore largely ignored the potential importance of a contingent to the aid of the ranyangere, but within a very short time their hereditary war-leaders and relied instead on a military system thereafter, the ranyangere found themselves fully occupied in maintaining in which personal courage and independent action were the main ingredients. While such a system was apparently adequate enough during the increasing Dodos invasions. The Lokorwakol, divisions, and others long era which preceded the mid-nineteenth century, it was to prove totally inadequate in the martial era which followed.

At approximately the same time that the tensions in the Toror area erupted into serious conflict at Nangodiai, there was also increasing friction along the north-western frontier of Najie. The cause of this friction was the by now familiar problem of the Kapeta watering points and grazing lands. As described in the preceding chapter, the Jie victory over the Agricultural Paranilotic Poet had ensured a free access to the Kapeta for the ngauyoi of the Rengen and the northern territorial divisions of the Lokorwakol, but had added considerably to the strength of the Dodos community as large numbers of Poet refugees fled east to form the Lokaato section. The Dodos, by now a fully evolved and expanding community eyed the Kapeta resources with envy, and the Lokaato section, nearest to Najie, was undoubtedly still smouldering with resentment towards those who had driven their ancestors from their homeland. Jie traditions recall a number of relatively minor skirmishes

<sup>1</sup> Lethika (Lizaka), Longok (Longok), and others, J-58.

<sup>2</sup> Lowop (Lizeo), and others, J-58.



with the Dodos in the area west of the Dopeth River, and although no battle of the magnitude of Nangodial was fought, the Rengen settlers who had re-occupied the Aaceri area began to fall back and gradually abandoned the whole of the trans-Dopeth area once again. As noted in the Nangodial tradition above, the Rengen felt secure enough to send a contingent to the aid of the Panyangara, but within a very short time thereafter, the Rengen found themselves fully occupied in maintaining their control over their north-western resources in the face of ever increasing Dodos incursions. The Lokorwakol divisions, themselves concerned with Karimojong pressures to the south and south-east, could offer little support to the Rengen, who were forced to deal with the Dodos virtually alone:

When the Rengen began fighting the Dodos across the Dopeth, the Ngikorwakol were busy with their fights with the Bokora. Only a few men would go from here (Lokorwakol) to help them fight the Dodos. Most of the Ngikorwakol warriors had to remain in Lokorwakol.<sup>1</sup>

By a date soon after the middle of the nineteenth century, then, the Jie were experiencing increasing pressures along much of their southern and northern frontiers. To the Dodos and Karimojong, the Jie, or more correctly, the "Ngiro" community (as it was still called at that time)<sup>2</sup>, represented a barrier to the expansions of their own frontiers and an impediment to their asserting control over vital resources in the peripheral areas. In reflection of the annoyance they felt towards their troublesome neighbours and in reflection of the Panyangara appear to have regarded them as their closest allies.

As the Karimojong pressures were again increased after Nangodial, 1 Lothike (Elawa), Longok (Apacelen), and Ekongor, J-29.

2 See p. 248, Chapter IV.

the increased frictions which were growing up between them, both the Dodos and the Karimojong began to refer to the "Ngiro" by a new nickname: the area, and decided to pull their settlements back to the northern parts of their division in central Hajia. As they entered their first-

At first our people were called "Ngiro" because we lived here in the land near the Longiro River... Then the wars began. At first there were only fights with whips and then with clubs. Finally there were fights with spears. Our ancestors began to fight the Dodos and Karimojong more and more over the use of water-holes. We resisted the attacks of all those enemies. Our grandfathers began to be called Ngijie ('the fighting people') by those enemies because they fought well, even though those enemies were many more than we were.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, instead of resenting the new nick-name which was meant to be a scornful statement on their truculence, as seen through the eyes of their northern and southern rivals, both the Lokorwakol and the Hengen accepted the name with pride and would henceforth refer to themselves as Ngijie.

The victory of the Jie at Mangodiiai was to be a short-lived one. Within a very short time, there were renewed and increasingly intense Karimojong pressures in the Toror area. While the main Jie settlements in the Toror area were those of the Panyangara focused on the Lokibuwo frontier of Hajia, however, and with the retreat of the Komukuny, deep wells, the neighbours of the Panyangara, the Komukuny, also had established settlements in the southern part of their own division, not far to the west of Lokibuwo. Up to the time of the battle of Mangodiiai, the Komukuny clearly contributed much to the defence of the Toror area, and the Panyangara appear to have regarded them as their firmest allies. As the Karimojong pressures once again increased after Mangodiiai,

<sup>1</sup> Apei (Adolung iro), Lokomolo, and Lotyang, J-22. Also J-7, 99 and 104.



however, the Komukuny appear to have tired of the constant friction in the area, and decided to pull their settlements back to the northern parts of their division in central Najie. As they watched their erst-while allies moving away to the north, the young men of the Panyangara became furious and perpetrated an action unparalleled in Jie historical experience:

When the Panyangara were settled at Lokibuwo, Nacailap and Kaicodo, the Komukuny lived nearby at Lakanyam and in the Nangodiai area. When the enemies (Karimojong) began to attack that area more and more frequently, the Komukuny decided to leave that area. They decided to go north and leave the Panyangara to fight the enemies alone. The Panyangara became very angry and they cried: "Let us go and castrate their bulls!" They attacked the Komukuny with whips and clubs and there was a big fight. Finally the Panyangara were beaten, and they went back to Lokibuwo alone while the Komukuny went on to the north. This was the only time that Jie ever fought with other Jie in that way. Even in this fight, however, the young men used only sticks and no spears.<sup>1</sup>

Never before had a Jie territorial division fought with another in this way, and apparently the senior elders and even the Jimos ekaworon were powerless to prevent it. The fight was undoubtedly symptomatic of the extraordinary pressures which were being felt along the southern frontier of Najie, however, and with the retreat of the Komukuny, Bokora and neighbouring Pei Karimojong attacks on the Panyangara took on an added intensity. Some of the immigrant Kapwor who had not settled with the Panyangara at Lokibuwo (see pp. 312-3, Ch.V, above) had established

1. Looru (Sampson), and others, J-52. The phrase 'let us go and castrate their bulls' (apana atouto ngikes maaniko) is used by the Jie only when they are very angry, and its meaning is "to fight and completely subdue someone".

The fight is not referred to very often in Jie oral traditions, and several informants from the divisions involved appeared quite reluctant to talk about it. Nevertheless, I did get the impression that the tradition is in fact very widely known, despite the reluctance of many informants to volunteer any rendering of it.

though during the peace-making ceremony they were assisted by a Nyakwai ritual specialist, Angira). A similar ceremony was traditionally conducted to make peace with the Seide,



Pei Karimojong. (See Map 1.)

themselves on the south-eastern side of Toror, and their settlements were soon wiped out by Karimojong onslaughts, as were outlying Panyangara settlements in the Theno area to the south-west.<sup>1</sup> The Karimojong armies followed up these successes by attacking the settlements clustered at Lokibuwo itself, with disastrous results for the Panyangara:

After the settlements at Theno and elsewhere on the western side of Toror were defeated, all of the Panyangara gathered north of the mountain. The Karimojong attacked again and the Panyangara were finally driven from their homes. They fled north across the Lokwakel and Lopurokoca Rivers, retreating back into Najie. Then the Panyangara made peace with the Bokora and they were allowed to move back into some parts of the area.<sup>2</sup>

Informants were agreed that the Panyangara were driven from Lokibuwo when the Ngimuria age-section of Ngikokol was still initiating and that the following age-section, Ngieleki, were still uninitiated boys. It would seem, then, that only a very short time had passed since the battle of Nangodiai, and it is very likely that the Panyangara were expelled sometime during the early 1860's. While it is recalled that the Panyangara recovered some of their lost territory with the peace that quickly followed their expulsion, they do not appear to have returned to the Lokibuwo deep wells, and the grazing lands beyond Toror were firmly retained by the victorious Bokora and

1 Interviews including J-7 and J-63.

2 Akuremeri (and others), J-7. Peace-making ceremonies with the Karimojong were traditionally conducted at Nakithilet ('the place of peace'), a small hill east of Mt. Toror which in a sense was thought of as the traditional "boundary" between the Jie and the Karimojong areas. During the ceremony, representatives from each side would take hold the thigh-bone of an ox and break it, and sometimes each side would bend the point of a spear and bury a razor. Each side was expected to bring a large bull to be slaughtered. The Jie peace-makers were always drawn from the Natelo clan of Panyangara (although during the peace-making ceremony in the 1960's they were assisted by a Nyakwai ritual specialist, Angura). A similar ceremony was traditionally conducted to make peace with the Dodos,



Pei Karimojong. (See Map 14).

It was not only territory and resources that were lost in the Panyangara expulsion. During the final battle at Lokibuwo, Acuka, the hereditary war-leader of the Ngikorwakol was slain, trying vainly to rally the remnants of his division's warriors. Teko, his eldest son, was duly selected as his successor by the Ngikorwakol elders, and undoubtedly no one paid much attention to a younger son, Lorian, who fled northwards from the devastation and defeat at Lokibuwo as an uninitiated boy.

The peace which followed the expulsion of the Panyangara was again short-lived. Conflict appears to have started again when a strong Karimojong raiding party attacked a concentration of Jie ngauyoi at Naita, west of the settled area of Najie. The young men of the ngauyoi rapidly raised the alarm and managed to hold off the Karimojong until reinforcements from other ngauyoi and from the homesteads in Najie arrived and drove the raiders off. The action is still recalled in a Jie war-song:

Oh, oh, i-yo, Naita!

Lili! Torutu nyabore.

Aremo ngimoe nyabore.

Ngijie torutu nyabore Naita! Jie, help the nyabore at Naita!

Apotu ngimoe lore, Naita.

Lili! Ngimoe Naita!

Oh! Naita!

Lili (the sound of the alarm). Help the nyabore (an alternative word for ngauyoi).

Enemies are attacking the nyabore.

Jie, help the nyabore at Naita!

The enemies have come to (our) home, Naita

Lili! Enemies (at) Naita.1

Footnote 2 continued from previous page

although that ceremony usually included the killing and burying a dog. The peace-makers from both sides are drawn from the Foot (or Foot) clans of their respective societies. The place where the ceremony is conducted depends on who is suing for peace. (Interviews including J-26, 27, 39, 72, 113 and BK-6).

1 Nyaramoe, Lokong (Israel) and a group of women, J-37.

The largely unsuccessful raid on Naita was quickly followed by a major Karimojong offensive campaign. Many Jie traditions claim that the objective of the campaign was to "completely wipe out the Jie, and the Karimojong sent all of their warriors for this purpose",<sup>1</sup> While others additionally claim that the Karimojong offensive was co-ordinated with a simultaneous one by the Dodos:

In those days, the Jie were too few to be an aggressive people. Najie was only a small place, like the testicles of a donkey. The Jie could only sit and wait for their powerful enemies to attack them. After the Panyangara were driven from Lokibuwo, the Karimojong went to visit the Dodos and they said, "Why should we leave these Jie here? They are very few and their place is small. You, Dodos, attack them from the north, and we Karimojong will attack them from the south. They cannot fight us both." The Karimojong sent a very large army to attack the Jie. Their warriors were drawn up in a line from Toror all the way up to Nakapelimoru (a distance of several miles). They moved north like a fishing net, burning homesteads and killing many people. At the same time, the Dodos made their own attacks from the north. But the Jie fought very bravely and truly they won their name, Ngijie ('the fighting people').<sup>2</sup>

The campaign, which was given the name Apetai ('everywhere'), came very close to being a complete success. In a single day all of the territorial divisions of Lokorwakol were over-run, and the Ngikorwakol retreated north-westwards across the Longiro River into Rengen. Here the unified moieties put up a fierce last-ditch resistance, and after a very uneasy night, during which the Karimojong warriors slept in the Ngikorwakol homesteads, the young men from the western ngauyoi arrived in Rengen. With the young men of the ngauyoi swelling their

1 Kojo (Looya) and Lolwanamoe, J-60.

2 Akuremeri (and others), J-7. The Dodos informants of D-3 strongly denied that there was any planned co-ordination between themselves and the Karimojong in these attacks. Whether the co-ordination was consciously planned or not, it still had the same effect of making the Jie fight on two fronts at once.



numbers, the Jie offered even stiffer resistance to the Karimojong attacks the following day, and during the confused fighting a large Karimojong contingent was trapped at the Agar-Etuko ford in the Lokwakel River and wiped out almost to a man. With this defeat, the Karimojong lost heart and fell back to the south, abandoning the Lokorwakol settlement area, but carrying off a great many cattle and other booty, and leaving utter devastation behind them. The Dodos (who had certainly not pressed home their offensive with the same determination as the Karimojong) also withdrew, and for the moment, at any rate, the Jie community had survived.<sup>1</sup>

The defeats that they suffered throughout the 1860's undoubtedly did much to make the Jie community very keenly aware of its numerical inferiority. Jie traditions indicate that both the Karimojong and the Dodos outnumbered them considerably during the latter half of the nineteenth century, but of course do not make any statement regarding the

actual numbers of the respective populations. The earliest estimate of the population of Najie was that made by H.M. Tufnell in 1911, and he concluded that the total adult male population was "not more than 1500".

In the same year, he estimated that the total adult male population of the Karimojong was about "five or six thousand".<sup>2</sup> In 1919, Captain Chidlaw-Roberts estimated the Karimojong and Jie adult male populations

at 5,298 and 1,869, respectively, and in that same year the total population of the Dodos was estimated at 20,000, which would mean an adult

1 Interviews including J-48, 60, 64 and 85.  
2 Tufnell's Reports: 11th Oct. 1911 and 11th Sept. 1911, EA-2119

3 It would be quite possible, in fact, that the populations of the three communities were rather greater in the 1860's than in the 1910's. Very probably, the long period of wars, as well as the great disasters of the late nineteenth century (to be described below), considerably reduced the populations of all three communities.



an adult male population of about 4,000.<sup>1</sup> As all three of the Dodos major sections appear to have actively waged war on the Jie, it is clear that the Dodos alone outnumbered the Jie by about two to one, at least by 1919. Not all of the Karimojong sections took a very active role in the fighting with the Jie, but even subtracting the adult male populations of the Pian section (who apparently played virtually no part in the wars with the Jie) and the Tome section (who lent only occasional support to the other sections), the adult male population of the other Karimojong sections still stood at about 4,000 in 1919, again outnumbering the Jie by about two to one.<sup>2</sup> In 1919, therefore, the Jie were probably collectively outnumbered four to one by their northern and southern enemies. Although the populations of the three communities undoubtedly changed from the 1860's to the 1910's,<sup>3</sup> it would seem entirely reasonable to assume that the ratio between those populations remained fairly constant

1 The 1919 estimates are recorded by Barber (1968), op.cit., pp.80 and 89. The estimates were made in reports kept in the Moroto Archives all of which were unfortunately destroyed just prior to Uganda independence. In the following year, Chidlaw-Roberts again made estimates of the total populations and his figures were: "Karamoja Proper" (ie. Karimojong), 33,000; Jie, 11,000; Dodos, 20,000; Nyangea and Napore, 3,000 (Chidlaw-Roberts, Capt. J.R., Report on the Karamoja District of the Uganda Protectorate, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1920, p.2). Gulliver, apparently unaware that Chidlaw-Roberts did include a population estimate for the Nyangea and Napore separately from the Dodos, undertook to readjust the figures somewhat in a journal article (Gulliver, P.H. "The Population of Karamoja", U.J. 17, 2, 1953).

I am very grateful to Col. Chidlaw-Roberts for informing me of the existence of his report and of a map of Karamoja which was drawn from information he gathered in 1919, both of which were consulted at the Royal Geographical Society and both of which were useful in writing this chapter.

2 A break-down of the populations of the individual Karimojong sections in 1919, again based on the destroyed Moroto records, is given by Dyson-Hudson, op.cit., p.135.

3 It would be quite possible, in fact, that the populations of the three communities were rather greater in the 1860's than in the 1910's. Very probably, the long period of wars, as well as the great disasters of the late nineteenth century (to be described below), considerably reduced the populations of all three communities.



during that period and to conclude that at the commencement of the long era of conflict the Jie were on some occasions fighting enemy forces as much as four times more numerous than themselves.

In order to redress the balance somewhat, the Jie appear to have actively encouraged the immigration of alien refugees to Najie where they were incorporated into the Jie community. While great famines such as the Nyamdere and the Laparanat resulted in major population movements, it should not be supposed that shifts in population were confined solely to such times. Indeed, throughout much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there appears to have been an almost constant ebbing and flowing of small groups of people and even individuals across much of Karamoja. Like the internal population movement which was discernible within Najie itself (see. pp. 343-5, Ch. VI, above), this constant movement of small groups was attributable to a variety of reasons including feuds, legal troubles, and the myriad minor famines and "hungry times" which incessantly beset various parts of Karamoja.

Throughout much of its history, the population of Najie had been perforce extremely careful not to over-tax the vital resources of the country and its peripheral areas. During the very early years of its existence, the rapid emigration of the Ngimonia Turkana, Ngikor Toposa, and much of the earlier Agricultural Paraniotic population from the emerging Jie community at Daidai had ensured that the delicate ecological balance would be maintained. During the years which followed, a growing Jie population had pioneered new areas and tapped new resources to meet their expanding needs, and then had undertaken internal shifts of population to achieve a more perfect adjustment. When times were good, con-



siderable alien populations, such as the returning Ngiseera and Loposa, together with their Lwo allies, and later the Post war captives, were absorbed with relative ease. When times were less favourable, alien populations, such as the first of the unfortunate Kapwor starvelings, would be denied entry. With the rise of the powerful Dodos and Kari-mojong societies to their north and south, the Jie began to find increasing difficulty in maintaining their control over the vital resources of the peripheral areas, and ultimately control over even the more vital settled area of central Najie seemed to be dangerously close to slipping from their grasp, as described above. By the 1860's, therefore, the Jie were very anxious to build up their numbers quickly, and the recruiting of immigrant aliens must have seemed a convenient means of doing it.

Sometime after about 1840 (ie. during the Ngikokol initiations) a number of the Ngikuliak hunter-gatherers who had lived a largely independent existence at Maru and on other hills came down and joined with the Kotiang division of the Ngikorwakol, forming a major part of two clans, Ngadakori and Lokwor.<sup>1</sup> Then, during the middle years of the nineteenth century, immigrants from the neighbouring Nyakwai, Labwor and Acoli, as well as the more distant Iteso, were incorporated into several territorial divisions of the Jie community. Even immigrants

- 1 A tradition describing the manner in which these Ngikuliak "became Jie" has already been recorded (pp. 147 Ch.III, above). However Jie informants were strongly divided concerning the origins of the Ngadakori and Lokwor clans. Some, including the informants of J-58, 74 and 129, claimed that these clans were founded by Ngikuliak ancestors, while others, including the informants of J-73, 75 and 86 indicated that the clans had originally come from Koten and were subsequently joined by a considerable number of Ngikuliak. My own initiation was sponsored by the Kotido branch of the Lokwor, and my Jie "father", Mabuc, an excellent informant, was quite definite in his assertion that the clan had originally been part of the Koten-Magos concentration. I must therefore favour the latter view that the Ngikuliak immigrants were simply assimilated by these clans.

2 Loyang (and others), J-17.

3 Igira (Yamas), Lokong, Koria (Longonyo) and Langlang, J-17.



from the enemies of the Jie, the Dodos and Karimojong, began to arrive in Najie, and were also welcomed. In most cases, the immigrants arrived as impoverished refugees, and while many initially provided services for the Jie, they were kindly treated, as traditions of both the immigrants and their hosts recall:

My ancestors were Ngimagos Karimojong. My grandfather came to Najie because of hunger and was welcomed by the Panyangara who gave him food and refuge.<sup>1</sup>

Strangers came here to Losilang from other tribes. They came as poor people and they served as herdsmen for the original clans here and helped them to dig their wells and do all kinds of work. They would be welcomed with food, for there were few people in Najie at that time, and those strangers helped to increase the numbers of the Jie.<sup>2</sup>

After a time, the immigrants would be asked to help the Jie armies, either by serving as warriors, or by acting as spies against their former sponsor even society. Undoubtedly, the increasing pressures of their people. If the newcomers agreed and proved themselves loyal to their adopted community, they would be completely absorbed into Jie society and considered as "thoroughly Jie" as the members of even the oldest clans:

Strangers would come here from the Acoli, Dodos, Nyakwai, and other places. Often they would work as herdsmen for us when they came. If they decided to remain permanently, they were asked to help us fight our wars. If they went on raids and fought in battles, they were given food and captured cattle, so that they could marry wives, and they became Jie.<sup>3</sup>

My clan is now known as Ngikalepetum. My grandfather, Longamalem, originally came here from Dodos. When he came here, he found that the Jie had few cattle and needed more. The Jie allowed him to settle with them, and asked for his help. He took some of the Jie warriors and led them back to Dodos and showed them the homestead of Lokolong, where he knew there were many cattle. The Jie raided those cattle

1 Lowuare, J-30.

2 Loyang (and others), J-19.

3 Igira (Yaramoe), Lokong Maria (Longonyo) and Langlang, J-17.



and brought them back to Najie. It was thus that Longamalem became a Jie.<sup>1</sup>

While the incorporation of aliens undoubtedly helped to swell the ranks of the Jie at a critical moment in their history, and the services provided by the immigrant spies was certainly helpful to Jie raiding activity, it is obvious that insufficient immigrants were absorbed to alter significantly the serious disparity in numbers which existed between the Jie and their enemies. Clearly, a solution to the military problems which beset the Jie after the middle of the nineteenth century could not be achieved only by increasing their numbers. Still, it is important to note that most of the traditions of these assimilated alien groups seem to stress that they were absorbed as Jie, rather than as members of a specific territorial division or even moiety. Undoubtedly, the increasing pressures of their northern and southern enemies had done much to even further blur the distinct autonomy and the uniqueness which had formerly been so strong a feature of the constituent territorial divisions, and to foster an increasing awareness of the integration and unity of a Jie community.

If the Apetai campaign brought devastation to much of Najie, it also appears to have at least temporarily exhausted the offensive capabilities of the Karimojong armies. Although the campaign had failed to destroy the Jie, the Karimojong nevertheless must have been well satisfied with its results. With the Panyangara and Komakuny Jie

1 Acukwa (Urule), J-91. It should be noted that in no case did the descendants of such immigrants seem embarrassed by the treachery of their ancestors; rather, most related their exploits with evident pride.



driven away, their own northern frontier was reasonably secure and large tracts of grazing land as well as important watering resources in the Toror area had come under their control. (See Map 14). Neither Karimojong nor Jie oral tradition indicate that any major battles or campaigns were fought in the years immediately following Apetai, and it would seem that the old pattern of intermittent raids returned while each side built up its strength for the inevitable renewal of more serious conflict.

The encroachment of the Karimojong to the south forced the Jie to readjust both settlement and grazing patterns. Many of the Panyangara settled near the immigrant Kadokini in the northern part of their division at Kapuyon, an admirable defensive position near the confluence of the Lokwakel and Loputh Rivers. The Komukany established most of their settlements just to the west of Kapuyon, again in the northern part of their division and close to the geographical centre of Najie. In place of the individual homesteads (ngireria) or "clan hamlets" (see pp.37-41, Ch. I, above), many of the territorial divisions banded their settlements together into a single giant complex, completely surrounded by one stout defensive barricade, and all of the territorial divisions pulled in their outlying homesteads towards the geographical centre of the settled area:

During the worst of the wars the Jie settlements were all clustered together like those of Nakapelimoru are now. For example, all of the homesteads of Kotido were between Looi and the place where the prison now stands. I myself do not remember seeing the settlements like that, but my grandfather said it was like that in his time.<sup>1</sup>

1 Akuremeri, J-47. The reference to Nakapelimoru is to the settlements of the Wotokau sub-division which are presently clustered together on a ridge for defensive purposes. The Wotokau live closest to the Turkana with whom there was serious fighting during my stay in Najie, and they suffered frequent raids from the Turkana because of their exposed geographical position. As a result, the several hundred Wotokau homesteads banded together and are surrounded by an almost unbroken barricade. From a distance, the complex gives the impression of being a sizeable town.



With the loss of the grazing lands and water points near Toror, the Jie ngauyoi had to intensify their activity in other areas. While some of the Panyangara continued to use the areas near the Nyakwai Hills, many more ngauyoi began to use the western grazing lands bordering the Labwor and Acoli, with whom relations were basically good. Although pressures from the Dodos were mounting, they had yet to effect the same intensive mobilization as the Karimojong, and the ngauyoi of the Kengen, joined now by increasing numbers of Ngikorwakol, continued to push northwards to the vital grazing and water at Kapeta.<sup>1</sup>

By the mid-1870's, both the Karimojong and the Jie had most probably recovered from the effects of the Apetai campaign and were ready for a renewal of serious fighting. In about 1876,<sup>2</sup> however, war preparations were disrupted by a cattle disease which raged through much of Karamoja, decimating the herds of Karimojong and Jie alike. According to Jie informants, the disease, called Loongoripoko ('the dark soup', from the foul broth made from the carcasses of cattle which were killed by the disease), appeared near the end of Ngikokol initiations, and its effects are remembered to have been very serious:

Loongoripoko came some years before Lopid (see below). It killed a great many cattle. Even the cattle which were very healthy and fat grew thinner and thinner until finally they died.<sup>3</sup>

Footnote 1 continued from previous page

Longok (Erisa), the informant of J-86, claimed that before this period, Jie homesteads were surrounded only by thorn fences (ngawasin) and it was only after their defeats that the Jie adopted the stronger stockades (ngalari).

1 Interviews including J-93, 94 and 104.

2 The date was estimated by Captain Turpin in 1916. Although he terms the disease "Logipi", there can be little doubt that it corresponded to the Jie "Loongoripoko". In an appendix to Turpin (1948, op.cit. p.165), J.M. Watson, the Agricultural Officer in Karamoja, described "Logipi" as a disease of "watery swelling" and tentatively identified it as black-quarter.

3 Lobwal, J-34.



While Jie oral tradition makes a few vague mentions of cattle diseases which had preceded Loongoripoko, informants were agreed that this was the first time that a disease had reached such epidemic proportions. In the past, famines had usually been caused by prolonged droughts which resulted in serious crop failures, and, as has been pointed out several times already, the semi-pastoral peoples of central and eastern Karamoja had invariably fared much better than the primarily agricultural peoples along the western borderlands. With Loongoripoko, the situation was reversed, and the Jie and the other peoples of Karamoja found themselves having to rely on their sorghum and other agricultural produce while they began the long process of rebuilding their herds. While the disease did cause considerable hardship and suffering, it also provided a further respite to the resumption of major military conflict between the Bokora and the Jie. Spasmodic raiding continued, but as the herds of each side were equally destroyed, both peoples appear to have turned their attentions to other, more profitable, areas for most of their raiding activity.

Soon after the disease (and still within the span of the Ngikokol initiations), the Jie began to raid the Ngimagos to the east, against whom they had fought successfully perhaps a quarter of a century before (see pp. 180, above). In the years that had elapsed, some of the Ngimagos had come north from the Magos Hills and resettled the area around Lotisan well near Koton. From there, the Ngimagos began to interfere with the movements of Jie ngauyoi, and the Jie finally launched a major attack on them:

The Ngimagos were divided into several groups. One group was called 'Ngikorio', another lived down in the Magos Hills, and the third, under a leader called Lokothowa, settled near Lotisan. The young men of the Ngikokol went to Koculut in the east and there assembled an army. They attacked the Ngimagos at Lotisan and those in the Magos Hills and drove them away. The Ngimagos fled to Lokales in Pian (in the southern part of the Karamojong area) where they joined with the Lian. Their descendants can still be found there today.

The attacks on the Ngimagos were the first successes won by Jie armies in many years and must have done much to revive their flagging spirits. The expulsion of the Ngimagos also resulted in a number of captured cattle to help the restocking of Jie herds, and it ensured that at least the eastern grazing lands were for the time being secure. However, the Jie had not seen the last of Lokothowa, the young leader of a Lotisan band of the Ngimagos. Although fully 30 years were to pass before the Jie saw him again, his eventual reappearance would usher in a whole new era.

The forces which were at least indirectly to aid Lokothowa to eventually reappear in Jie history took the form of brown-skinned strangers who made their appearance in Karamoja soon after the expulsion of the Ngimagos and the inauguration of the next Jie asapanu, Ngikosowa, in about 1880. The first of these strangers, who were known to the Jie as Nabaci, arrived in Najie from the north. They had come from the area to the north of Lake Rudolf which was, by the end of the decade, to be incorporated within Menelik's expanding Ethiopian empire, and in their baggy cloth garments, mounted on strange four-footed creatures

1 Lobilatum and Lopacure, J-11.



and carrying for weapons sticks which made a fearful noise and gave off a terrible odour, they presented an exceedingly wierd spectacle to the astonished Jie. Jie traditions maintain that at first there was little intercourse with these Habaci. Each group appears to have been rather distrustful of the other, and while the strangers invariably came with an interpreter, most could not speak a single word of Ajie and there were clearly considerable problems of communication: but merely made very brief visits in which to hunt elephants.

When the first Habaci began coming here, the Jie thought they were very strange people indeed. We had not seen 'red' people like them before. We didn't understand why they had come here, and at first the people were afraid they had come to kill us.<sup>1</sup>

The mutual distrust quickly led to friction which was expressed in an armed clash between the Jie and one of the first of the bands of strangers:

The only time the Jie had any real trouble with those people was at the beginning, when the first came. Some of them killed two Jie brothers and stole their cattle. The Jie were very angry. Our young men surrounded their camp at Nalingakan, and there was a battle in which people on both sides were killed. Night came, and while the Jie were waiting for dawn, the traders slipped out of their camp and went away.<sup>2</sup>

After this initial unpleasantness, relations with the Habaci strangers steadily improved, and later in the decade, other strangers, Swahili from the East African coast, known to the Jie as Acumpa, who were reaching the final frontier of their long-distance caravan routes,

1 Loburkan, J-122.

2 Lotiang (Ekothowan) and Lengoyang, J-123.

began to visit Najie from the south. The primary purpose for the visits of both these groups of strangers to Najie was to hunt the large herds of elephants which roamed the peripheral areas of Najie, and occasionally even appeared in the settled areas where they wreaked havoc in the sorghum fields. Indeed, many Jie traditions refer to the strangers as "those who carried the tusks of elephants" and make it clear that the strangers did not attempt to establish themselves even semi-permanently in Najie, but merely made very brief visits in which to hunt elephants:

Those people never stayed in Najie. They would only come with their horses and donkeys to shoot elephants with their guns. Often they would arrive in Najie in the morning and hunt all day and then go away at night to wherever they had come from. Sometimes they would camp for a night or two in Najie, but no more.<sup>1</sup>

By the early 1890's, the visits of both groups of hunters to Najie were becoming more frequent. The earlier troubles with the Habaci were now a thing of the past, and both groups (especially the Acumpa it would seem) made a very real effort to establish cordial relations with the Jie:

When the Acumpa came here, they used to give presents of rice to women and children. Our people would accept it, but then throw it away into the bush after the Acumpa had gone on because they were not used to such strange food.<sup>2</sup>

Many of the strangers learnt Ajie and some even assumed Jie-style "ox-names" (a kind of nickname) and composed their own ox "praise

1 Lothike (Elawa), Longok (Apaclem) and Ekongor, J-29. Also J-65.

2 Looru (Sampson), J-120. A number of Jie informants (including those of J-40) credited the Acumpa with introducing maize to Najie.

1 Interviews including J-17, 33, 36, 38, 45, 60, 69, 127 and 128.

2 Aringele, Lomalen (Pulen), Lolok (Dumel) and others, J-25.



were clothes and they were very hairy people with long songs", much to the delight of their Jie hosts. Although the strangers were primarily hunters, they also engaged in some trading activities with the Jie, mainly in order to supplement their rations whilst on hunting expeditions. In exchange for grain, milk, meat and even fire-wood, the hunters gave beads, copper and brass wire, and some iron-ware, and sometimes they would make presents to the Jie of the game they shot. Both the Habaci and Acumpa tried to induce Jie men to serve as guides and porters, and occasionally even to give them active help in their elephant hunting, but apparently met with little success, at least initially.<sup>1</sup> After the initial misunderstandings and friction with the Habaci, the Jie clearly realised that they had nothing to fear from the strangers, and as they were already under considerable pressure from their Karimojong and Dodos rivals, the Jie were undoubtedly anxious to avoid any unnecessary conflict with the newcomers. The traders, for their part, wanted good relations with the Jie so that their hunting could be carried on in peace, and so that welcome additions to their sparse rations could be easily obtained. The general impression strongly conveyed in most of the Jie traditions is that the hunters were regarded as peaceful, rather eccentric, and indeed almost comical characters:

The Acumpa came here from the south-east when the Ngikosowa were initiating. They only wanted to shoot elephants, and they brought beads, wire, and other things to trade .... they had many donkeys to carry their things and herds of goats which they ate. They wore loose dark cloth on their bodies. They loved to eat meat and ate great quantities of it. They used to wipe their hands and even the oil off their mouths onto their clothes after eating.<sup>2</sup>

The Acumpa and the Habaci came here riding on horses. They

1 Interviews including J-17, 33, 36, 38, 45, 66, 89, 127 and 128.

2 Aringole, Lomulen (Puten), Loibok (Daudi) and others, J-26.



wore clothes and they were very hairy people with long beards and long noses which caused the Jie girls to laugh.<sup>1</sup>

Those who came here to shoot elephants and trade things never caused trouble, except once, when there was that fight at Nalingakan. Other than that, they were peaceful. They never killed any of the Jie or took away any of our women or children.<sup>2</sup>

As the Mabaci and Acumpa hunters began to make more frequent visits to Najie, the Jie had continued the long process of building up their herds after the depredations of Loongoripoko. By the end of the 1880's, both the Jie and their Karimojong rivals had recovered nearly sufficient strength to renew active warfare, but in about 1887 another battle disease, called Loukoi by the Jie, broke out in Karamoja, and again the herds of both peoples were decimated. Once more the Jie and the other semi-pastoral peoples of Karamoja set about to rebuild their herds, but this time the process was hardly underway before yet another disease, called Lopid by the Jie, completely devastated the remnants of the herds, most probably in 1894.<sup>3</sup>

Loukoi came and killed many of the cattle. Then, when I was a small boy, Lopid came and killed almost all that were left.<sup>4</sup>

1 Lobwal J-34.

2 Lodon (Kapelinyong) and Meron, J-127. It is interesting to compare statements made by Webster's Acoli informants regarding some of these same traders, viz.: "The Cumpa first came here during the reign of (Rwot) Lakiti. He did not worry about them because they were only harmless traders." (Webster, Acholi Historical Texts, op.cit., p.90.)

3 The dates for Loukoi and Lopid were estimated by Captain Turpin (1948, op.cit. p. 163). In his appendix to the article (op.cit. p.163), Watson at least tentatively identified Loukoi as pleuropneumonia and Lopid as a disease of the East Coast fever variety. Turpin, however, was of the opinion that "Lopit" was in fact rinderpest.

4 Iteba J-39.



agricultural western peoples who had escaped the worst effects of the disasters. A few of those who turned to hunting and gathering were almost immediately followed by a further outbreak of Loukol taken in by the Ngikullak wanda, while others formed bands of their (some informants refer to it as Lopetun or Loiloo), a very poor harvest caused by a drought and a plague of locusts, and finally an epidemic of small-pox (emer to the Jie) which took a heavy toll amongst the herds of the Langi and Luso, although most sought refuge with the human population. The series of disasters unquestionably wreaked in-labor and several of the kingdoms of eastern Sobol.2 comprehensible suffering on the Jie, and the grim recollections of Jie

elders can only partially echo the terrible consequences:

1. Some of those who fled to eastern Langi included members of the Loper clan of Sobol, descendants of the same large agricultural people. Most Jie were left with no food at all. Nothing. They went up towards Kapeta and gathered wild fruits. My own grandfather lived like a monkey collecting wild things in the bush. He was left with only a donkey, a cow and a few goats ....How could he feed his family on these?1

When the small-pox came I was about 20 years old.... I caught the disease and was too weak even to stand up.... My father and my grandfather both caught it. Many people in my (extended) family died of it.2

2. Interviews involving J-15, 36, 39, 57, 80, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Nearly all the cattle in Najie died. Only one bull, belonging to Lokalong of Panyangara, was left in all of Najie. People used to bring their cows to his bull to be serviced, and they would even come to him to buy cow-dung with which to smear the walls and floors of their houses. I remember that my father had only two cows left out of his entire herd. Many people went to the bush and hunted wild animals.3

Several groups of Jie refugees also appear to have gone to the west before the great disaster, although there is some confusion as to where they went. A few fortunate Jie had sufficiently large flocks of sheep and goats (which were unaffected by the diseases and managed to live by browsing during the drought) to provide food for their families until the crisis had passed, but a great many either turned to hunting and gathering, or else fled from Najie, to take refuge with the primarily

1 Amuk (Akitibuin) J-89.

2 Akuremeri, J-47.

3 Longoli (Apanyemuge) J-104.



agricultural western peoples who had escaped the worst effects of the disasters. A few of those who turned to hunting and gathering were taken in by the Ngikuliak bands, while others formed bands of their own, and wandered in the bush in the peripheral areas of Najie. Of those who fled to the west, some ventured as far as the eastern frontiers of the Langi and Iteso,<sup>1</sup> although most sought refuge with the Labwor and several of the kingdoms of eastern Acholi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Some of those who fled to eastern Lango included members of the Loser clan of Kotido, descendants of the same large Agricultural Paraniotic group which also provided a considerable segment of the Lango population. With the discovery that some of the Jie refugees were Ngiseera, the Langi are remembered to have immediately begun calling them "brothers" and providing them with gifts of milk and meat. As fully a century had passed since any of the Jie and Lango Ngiseera had existed as one community, the Jie were astonished, but nonetheless delighted at their treatment. (Teko, Ekiam, J-76). Other Jie refugees were not given such favoured treatment by the Langi, however.
- 2 Interviews including J-15, 36, 38, 57, 80, 111, 113, 114, 118, L-9, 10 and 11. Some Jie refugees went to the Kotidani area where they were referred to as "hapwor", thereby causing my initial confusion with the Agricultural Paraniotic and Lwo hapwor who had lived there fully a century before (see footnote 1, p. 311, Ch. V, above). This Kotidani group was also referred to as Ngioapakiru, 'those who follow the rain'.

Several groups of Jie refugees also appear to have gone to the west before the great disasters, although there is some confusion as to when exactly they did leave Najie. One of these groups went west from Losilang and established themselves at Adilang in eastern Acholi, just beyond the Labwor Hills. (According to both Jie and Labwor traditions, "Adilang" is a corruption of "Losilang".) As noted above (p. 257 and footnote 2, p. 257, Ch. IV), it seems clear that part of the original Agricultural Paraniotic population of Losilang came there from this same area of eastern Acholi at some date before the eighteenth century, and it is therefore understandable why there should be a certain amount of confusion in some traditions. Nevertheless, the informants of J-58 stated that the move from Losilang to Adilang was made while the Ngieleki age-section of Ngikokol was still initiating; and that when they, the informants (the oldest

A group from the plains of Panyangara moved southwards out of Najie and joined the Labwor at Adilang. While both the Labwor and Panyangara traditions recall their move, I was unable to determine when it took place, and despite several attempts, I never located any descendants of the group amongst the Labwor.

Continued on next page.....

1 Turpin (1948), p. 222, p. 143.

2 Austin, N.H., With Macdonald in Uganda, London, 1903, p. 70-1.



The Jie who died or who fled from Najie (at least temporarily) must have represented a very considerable proportion of the entire population. Both the Karimojong and the Dodos appear to have been about as badly affected as the Jie. In 1916, Turpin estimated that fully half of the Bokora section of the Karimojong had fled westwards to the Itesq where many died of hunger or were killed by those with whom they hoped to find refuge.<sup>1</sup> Many other Karimojong fled to the bush to exist by hunting and gathering, and H.H. Austin of Major Macdonald's Nile expedition found numbers of them in a very impoverished state beyond the headwaters of the Turkwel River in 1897.<sup>2</sup> Many of the Dodos (who were perhaps slightly less devastated by the disasters than either the Jie or Karimojong) fled to Orom or the Nyangaea Hills with what cattle remained, while many others were forced to turn to hunting and gathering.<sup>3</sup>

The first relief to the shattered communities of Karamoja was provided by the elephant-hunting strangers (especially the Acumpa, it would seem) who enterprisingly bought up large herds of cattle in areas unaffected by the diseases, and drove them to Karamoja in order to

Footnote 2 continued from previous page

a man of about 90), were small boys, the only survivors of the group which made the move to Adilang were very old men. Informants of J-86 and L-9 agreed that the move was led by the father of Matayo Lamot, a former Colonial Chief, who is now very aged, and served as an informant for Webster's "Acholi Historical Text, No. 41". (See Webster, "Acholi Historical Texts", op.cit., p. 21.) From all this it must be concluded that the move to Adilang took place sometime before 1880, and was therefore not a result of the great disasters. While it is possible that the move may have been caused by Loongoripoko in about 1876, some Jie informants (including those of J-86) stated that: "They didn't move because of any famine or cattle disease, but just moved as people do, from one place to another."

A group from the Rikita-i of Panyangara are also remembered to have moved southwards out of Najie and joined with the Bokora Karimojong. While both Jie and Karimojong traditions recall their move, I was unable to determine when it took place, and despite several attempts, I never located any descendants of the group amongst the Karimojong.

1 Turpin (1948), op.cit., p. 163.

2 Austin, H.H., With Macdonald in Uganda, London, 1903, pp. 70-1

3 Akurun and Alingo. 1913. also Turpin. ibid. Also MTK-3.



trade them to the impoverished Karimojong, Jie and Dodos:

After Lopid killed almost all the cattle, a few people managed to live off their sheep and goats, while others hunted in the bush. Others went to Acholi and other places to beg food from their friends and kinsmen. But then the Acumpa came with herds of cattle to trade to the Jie for elephant tusks and donkeys.<sup>1</sup>

The Jie, who had been merely indifferent to the hunting activities of the Acumpa and Habaci prior to the great disasters, now began to take a very active role in the elephant hunting. A few Jie were trusted enough to be lent rifles with which to shoot elephants themselves; others accompanied the traders as guides and porters, while many more, who had temporarily turned to a hunting life anyhow, turned their attentions from smaller game and began to hunt elephants with spears or traps. In exchange for their ivory or services, the Jie received considerable numbers of healthy livestock which served as a good basis from which to re-stock their herds. It is very much to their credit that the strangers did not take advantage of the situation to exploit the impoverished Jie, whose oral traditions recall that extremely good prices were paid for the ivory, a pair of large tusks fetching as many as 30 cattle.<sup>2</sup>

While the most immediate relief was thus provided by the Acumpa, and, to a lesser extent the Habaci, the Jie themselves took steps to aid their recovery through their own commercial enterprise. If for the most part the Jie had traditionally played a rather passive middle-man role in the transfer of Labwor iron-ware to the Turkana, the vol-

1 Lopor (and others), J-38.

2 Interviews including J-127 and L-3.



ume of that commerce could become quite considerable given sufficient demand, such as the Turkana wars of expansion earlier in the nineteenth century had provided. After the devastation caused by the great disasters, many Jie began to take full advantage of their convenient geographical situation and became (at least for the moment) full-time traders. To the west, the Labwor (whose livestock consisted mainly of goats rather than cattle) were relatively unaffected by Loukoi and Lopid, and during the following crop failure, they had escaped the worst effects of the famine by trading iron-ware to the Langi and other western peoples for grain.<sup>1</sup> To the east, arid plains of Turkana-land had escaped the cattle diseases altogether, and as few Turkana were engaged in any cultivation, the locusts and the crop failure had no real effect on them.<sup>2</sup> Unlike earlier and better times, the impoverished Jie middle-men were now very much concerned with making as substantial a profit as possible, and exploited their more fortunate neighbours to the fullest possible extent:

After Lopid, many Jie got cattle again from the Turkana. They would take a he-goat to the Labwor and buy a spear. Then they would take that spear to Turkana and exchange it for a small milch-cow. They would take the cow back to the Labwor and trade it for several spears, and then go back to Turkana again with those spears and buy several cattle. They would continue like that until soon they had a herd again.<sup>3</sup>

Through the help provided by the Acumpa and Habaci, as well as

1 Okidi (Sime), 1-10.

2 Gulliver (1950), op.cit. p.151.

3 Lobwal J-34.

set of Ngikokol. Although it was not to be immediately apparent, the through their own commercial ingenuity, then, the Jie began a fairly rapid recovery from the decimation of the great disasters. While succession was, in an Arabic sense, to be the most decisive factor, some of the refugees who had fled from Najie, either just prior to or as a result of the great disasters, would never return, increasingly large numbers did begin to return from their hunting a very and gathering life in the bush, or from their temporary refuge ally with neighbouring peoples, to their old settlement areas in Najie. While their own rates of recovery were perhaps somewhat slower than the that of the Jie, the Karimojong and Dodos also took advantage of their contacts with the Acumpa and Habaci and were soon engaged in re-stocking their herds, as well. As their recovery progressed, the old and as yet unanswered questions concerning the disputed resources along their frontiers with the Jie began to be re-examined. While the inexorable train of disasters had precluded any renewal of the major battles of the 1860's, each community fully realized that such a renewal was still ultimately inevitable.

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The terrible years of the great disasters certainly provided an opportunity for Teko to succeed his father, Acuka, killed by the Karimojong at Lokibuwo, himself died. Teko was apparently without issue, and the succession, at any rate, devolved upon his younger half-brother, Loriang. Loriang, who had fled as a young uninitiated boy from the defeat at Lokibuwo, had now grown

1. Teko (Looya) and Lorian, J-34, one of Lorian's two surviving sons, and Acumpa's (J-35), his maternal grandson.

2. Teko (Looya) and Lorian, J-34.



set of Ngikokol. Although it was not to be immediately apparent, the Karimojong spear which had killed Acuka and eventually led to Lorian's succession was, in an ironic sense, to be the most decisive ever thrown in the cause of the Jie community.

At the time of his succession, however, Lorian hardly presented a very imposing figure. He was still a fairly young man, both biologically and sociologically. Although the Ngikosowa asapana was inaugurated just before his succession, his own age-set was but the penultimate of the preceding generation-set, and he was still considered the "son" of the aged survivors of Ngisiroi, who were still the senior elders. Physically, he was very short for a Jie (only about five foot, six inches), light complexioned, with a marked habit of bending forward and hunching his shoulders when he walked. He had a passion for ornaments, wearing a great many strings of yellow beads and iron wire around his neck, ivory bracelets and several sets of earrings. Despite his age and his size, he had gone on a number of raids and fought bravely, and warrior's scars on both shoulders proclaimed that he had killed enemies.<sup>1</sup>

The terrible years of the great disasters certainly provided no opportunity for Lorian to exert even the minimal leadership which was accorded by the Jie to their hereditary war-leaders, and Lorian (and certainly Teko before him) was initially somewhat overshadowed by the older and more experienced Nengen war-leader, Natebele, a contemporary of his father, Acuka.<sup>2</sup> Not long after the last of the series of great

1 This description was built up mainly from the testimony of Lobwal (J-34), one of Lorian's two surviving sons, and Apaldokoro (J-23), his maternal grandson.

2 Kojo (Looya) and Lolwanamoe, J-60.



disasters took place, however, fighting broke out again, and Loriang was afforded his first opportunity to participate in a major battle.

The Dodos, who had been perhaps somewhat less seriously affected by the disasters than the other peoples of Karamoja, managed to assemble a large army, drawn from all three sections of their community, and launched an attack on the settlements of Nakapelimoru, the north-eastern territorial division of Lokorwakol. A Jie informant who witnessed the battle as a young boy described the early stages of the attack:

Before the Dodos attacked the place called Tiira in Nakapelimoru, my own grandmother, Awapawothit, an amaron (diviner) had already predicted they would come. Early on the morning of that battle my father had sent me to scare birds from the sorghum fields, and I heard someone calling his ox-name, "Nyeturot! Nyeturot!" away in the distance. I looked to the north, and although it was still rather dark, I could see the white feathers of warriors' headdresses. I ran back to my father's kraal, and he told me to drive the cattle away towards Panyangara (to the south). Everyone was crying out and shouting the alarm.<sup>1</sup>

The warriors of Nakapelimoru, heavily outnumbered, fell back on the Kadakimot River where they were reinforced from neighbouring Panyangara by a small contingent which included Loriang. The defenders offered fierce resistance, and the Dodos wasted considerable time in methodically searching the Jie kraals which were still rather empty of cattle after the great disasters.<sup>2</sup> By a stroke of good fortune a strong Jie raiding party, composed mainly of Hengen warriors, the arch-enemies of the Dodos, had set off the night before for a raid of their own on some Dodos cattle camps which had recently been esta-

1 Nakade (Peter), J-57. It is worth noting that, very much in accord with the relatively minor importance of diviners (see the preceding chapter), no-one appears to have paid much heed to Awapawothit's warning. Ox-names, the names taken by men after a favourite ox, are frequently shouted as battle-cries by warriors. A favourite battle cry of the Dodos was, "Go and get the Donkey" (ethigiria, ie. an insulting nick-name for the enemy). (Yosia Akure and others, D-2).

2 Lobilatam J-51.



blished in the east near Koten. Another elderly Jie informant who was himself a young warrior in the raiding party described what happened:

We were on our way to attack the Dodos when we came across a trail which had recently been made by a great many men. We realized that the Dodos must have sent an army to attack the Nakapelimoru and so we hurried back to Tiira where we saw those Dodos attacking.<sup>1</sup>

The Jie raiding party fell on the Dodos from the rear, while those defending the line along the Kadakimot River, being further reinforced by small bands of warriors which had trickled in from other parts of Najie, launched a frontal counter-attack. Caught between the two attacks, the Dodos broke and fled back to their own country, but while they suffered some casualties, most of the Dodos army escaped.

The traditions agree that the Jie warriors were drawn mainly from the Ngieleki age-section of Ngikokol and from the Ngikwei age-set of Ngikosowa, and that the Dodos army was composed largely of men of the Ngimothingo age-set.<sup>2</sup> From these and other indications, it would appear that the battle of Tiira was fought sometime during the final few years of the nineteenth century.

To Loriang, the battle (in which he seems to have played no very great part) was undoubtedly a valuable lesson in practical military tactics. The battle obviously served as a clear indication of the critical importance of a rapid mobilization of forces in a defensive

1. Lopeirinyet (Angura) J-87.

2. Interviews including J-33, 98, 109 and 118. The informant of J-48, Timothy Eeak, stated that it was after Tiira that the Jie first learned of snuff tobacco, of which they are now extremely fond. The Dodos were apparently already addicted to the habit and the Jie found many tobacco horns filled with snuff among the slain Dodos.

1. Amremeri and Nantola, J-47.

more unduly traditional organisation based on generation- and age-sets. It was plain that the Dodos had come dangerously close to winning a great victory. Had it not been for the much more rapid and efficient mobilisation of large forces in case of attack, and the fact that the men would be fighting in the company of the Dodos, the men of the thin defensive line on the Kadakimot River, their kinsmen and village-bands. The same organisation could also be to which the fragmentary bands of reinforcements from other parts of employed in offensive operations, and Loring devised a tactical advance, however bravely they had fought. The military organisation, its own "battalion" of a battle-line, in which each "company" had to have its own assigned and recognised place. Loring's plan had individual battle-leaders had again proved dangerously inadequate to meet the demands of large-scale defensive actions:

In the days before Loring, when the Jie were attacked by their enemies, the Karimojong and Dodos, there was not time to arrange the army in any special way. There was no time for preparations. There was no time to say, "That man is brave. Let him go first (ie. let him lead us)."

After the battle of Tiira, therefore, Loring for the first time began to display the very real mastery of military science and tactics which was to win for him a place in Jie history, rivaled only by the quasi-mythological founders of the moieties, Orwakol and Oding. While one must suspect that Loring had been formulating his plans for many years, the battle of Tiira seems to have codified them, and soon after the battle he announced sweeping changes in the whole military organisation. Fully understanding the military axiom concerning the crucial importance of interior lines in defensive actions, Loring substituted an organisation based on the Lokorwakol territorial divisions (which, since the defeats of the 1860's had been crowded together into a compact geographical area as has been described above) in place of the

1 Akuremeri and Nakothia, J-7.



## Figure 7

## Jie Army Organisation

more unwieldy traditional organisation based on generation- and age-sets. It was reasonably hoped that such an organisation would permit a much more rapid and efficient mobilisation of large forces in case of attack, and henceforth men would be fighting in the company of their kinsmen and neighbours. The same organisation could also be employed in offensive operations, and Loriang devised offensive tactics which called for the forming up of each territorial division as its own "battalion" of a battle-line, in which each "battalion" was to have its own assigned and recognised place. Panyangara and Nakapelimoru divisions (the ones which had experienced the heaviest of the raiding and fighting with the Karimojong and Dodos) were assigned the elite flank positions of this proposed offensive organisation, with the battalions of the other territorial divisions formed up between them. The formation, from east to west, was to be Nakapelimoru, Lotilang, Kotiang, Kotido, Kanawat and Panyangara (with whom the Komakuny formed up as a small separate battalion of their own).<sup>1</sup> The old organisation based on the asapanu-system was not entirely abandoned, however, and Loriang's plans called for each battalion to be internally arranged by age-sets, at least in offensive actions.

This organisation, as it subsequently functioned in combat situations, was described by elders who in their youth were part of it:

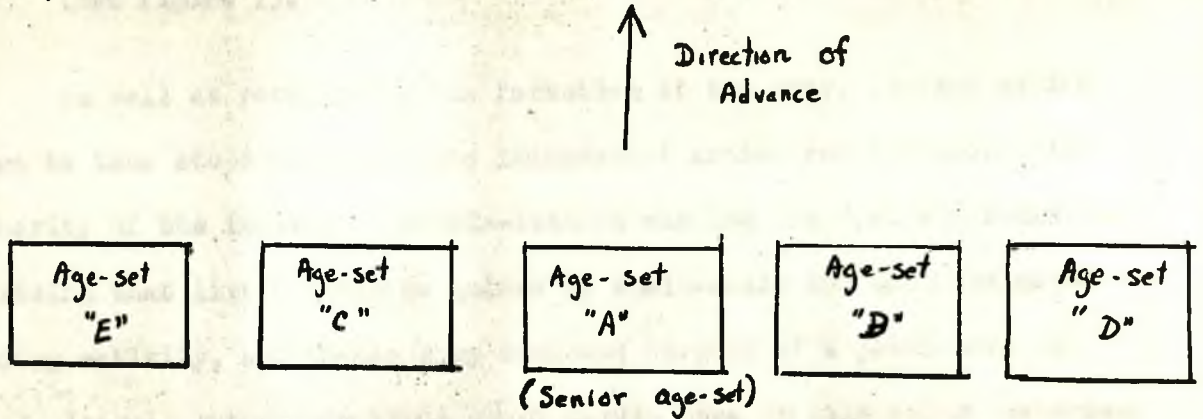
The Jie army was really arranged by territorial divisions. Each division was arranged as its own small army within the big army. But age-sets were also important. That is, the younger men were in the front of each battalion because they could move well and run quickly. The older men who could not run so quickly, but who

- 1 Interviews including J-33, 59 and 90. The informants of J-18 indicated that when the offensive organisation was subsequently put into practice, the Panyangara and Nakapelimoru usually occupied the flank positions, but would occasionally form up together to oppose the strongest part of an enemy's battle-line, wherever that point might be.

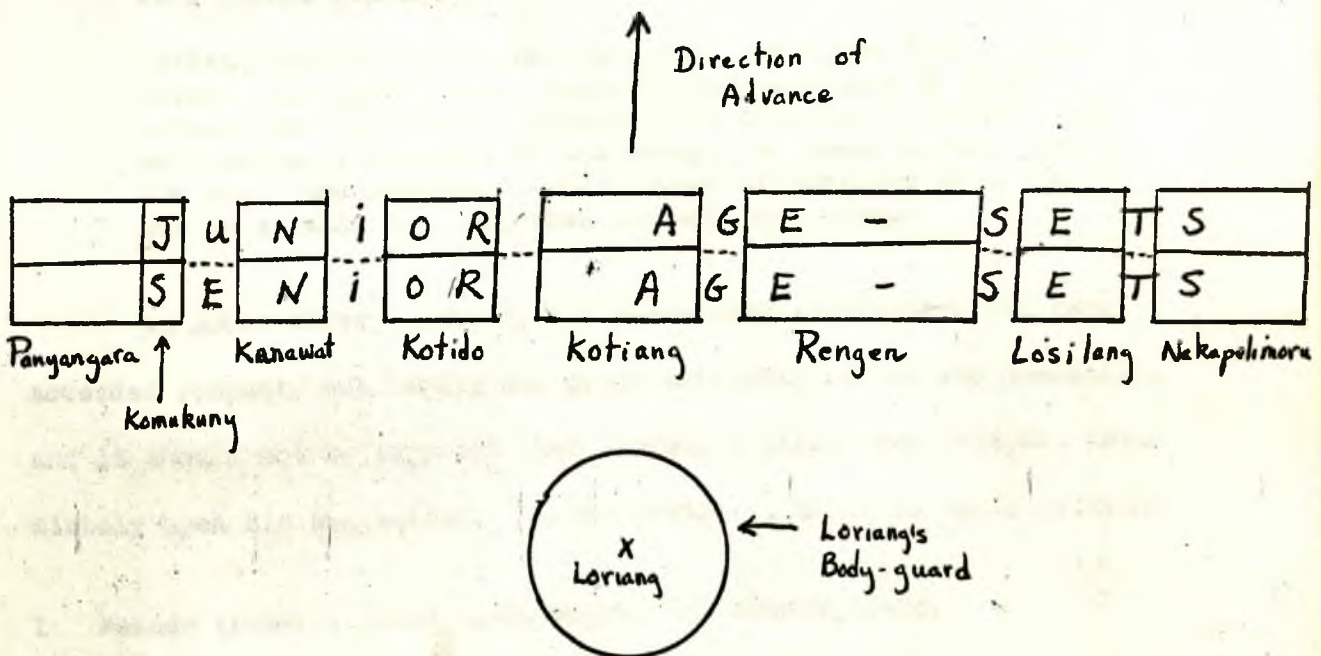
Figure 7

Jie Army Organisation  
c. 1865 and c. 1905

A.) c. 1865



B.) c. 1905



Uninitiated boys - Water carriers, Etc.



had fought many times, came behind. Sometimes the plan would be for the young men to attack the enemy and then suddenly break off and rush away, as though they were beaten. The enemy would chase them. Then the older men, who had concealed themselves to the rear, would jump up from their hiding places and ambush the enemy, who would be surrounded and defeated.<sup>1</sup> (See figure 7).

As well as reorganizing the formation of the army, Loriang actively began to take steps to reduce the independent action and the inordinate authority of the individual battle-leaders who led the "private companies". Realizing that little could be gained by small-scale and unco-ordinated raiding activity, and that an army composed largely of a patch-work of small, largely autonomous bands could hardly hope to gain major victories, Loriang was anxious to bring the battle-leaders firmly under his own control:

Loriang forbade small groups of warriors to go on raids of their own, as they had done in the past. He made all the warriors of every territorial division come together to one place to form one army which he himself led. Before his time, armies had been small and were never united, and they were always defeated.<sup>2</sup>

Loriang made sure that warriors were prevented from raiding without his permission. Warriors were forbidden to fight unless Loriang himself gathered them together or unless they were actually attacked by the enemy. He would always plan the wars, and sometimes small groups of warriors would go out on a raid, but only when Loriang sent them.<sup>3</sup>

As noted above, however, the hereditary war-leaders had been accorded respect, but hardly any great authority by the Jie community, and it should not be supposed that Loriang's plans were accepted immediately upon his suggestion. On the contrary, there is ample evidence

1 Nakade (Peter), Lowal (Lokorengok) and others, J-16.

2 Iothiko (Elawa) and Looru (Sampson), J-16.

3 Lobalong (Joseph) and Kere, J-12.



that in order to effect his reorganisation Loriang first actively sought the support and backing of the senior elders:

After he became the war-leader, Loriang would give presents of beer or even oxen to the very old men - those who walked with sticks. He did this to get their permission to do the things he wanted to do. No war-leader before Loriang ever did these things, and no war-leader before him ever led all the Jie in one army, as Loriang did.<sup>1</sup>

Loriang used to bring all the oldest men to his home to seek their blessing. He made sure that all came, and he saw to it that the very old men would be carried there if they could not walk. They would stay with him for as long as a week and each day he would present them with gifts of food and tobacco. The elders were pleased with Loriang and they sharpened his spear and stuck it into a tree, saying, "kill our enemies like this!" Then they gave him a stick of ekaliye wood which they spat on and blessed.

They performed for him a kind of angola ceremony in which they swept his way clear and made a gate of grass, abukut (wild sisal), ekathuruga (small ant hills) and aiakas (a type of plant). Loriang went through the gate and all the biggest elders blessed him. They collected small stones together and pretended they were cattle, in the way that small boys do, and they made sounds like cattle, "Bauu!" saying, "These are the cattle which Loriang brings to the Jie from the enemies!"<sup>2</sup>

With the blessings of the senior elders, therefore, Loriang's planned reorganisation was begun, and his prohibition against independent activity by the battle-leaders and their private companies was reinforced by the ritual sanctions of the elders. Undoubtedly

1 Lobalong (Joseph) and Nere, J-12. A very similar account was provided by the informants of J-16.

2 Lowor (Elizeo) and others, J-58. Loriang's sacred stick has been passed down to Atom, his grandson (and the informant of J-110), who carried it during his campaigns against the Karimojong in the 1950's and 60's.

Jie boys spend hours building miniature kraals which they fill with pebbles to represent their "cattle". During a ceremonial occasion which I observed (a Panyngara rain-making ceremony at Nakwapua ritual grove, 16th June, 1970, recorded as J-Rit-3), the young men staged a mock battle, after which they returned to the ritual grove carrying handfuls of pebbles which represented their "booty".



Loriang's innovations were sceptically received by many of the older warriors who were the veterans of Acuka's and Teko's time; and the individual battle-leaders certainly relinquished their authority only very grudgingly. While Lorian's subsequent successes must have erased most of the ill-feeling that his plans engendered, there is still perhaps an echo of resentment in some Jie oral tradition:

with Lorian, the Jie armies were always arranged in a special way. But our enemies, the Dodos and Karimojong, did not fight in this way. They continued to fight us bravely, like men, without big leaders or special formations.<sup>1</sup>

Somewhat ironically, Lorian's innovations were to be given their first test, not against either of the principal enemies, the Karimojong or Dodos, but against the primarily agricultural western neighbours of the Jie, the kingdoms of eastern Acoli. Traditionally, Jie relations with western peoples had been basically good. Except for the Ngikok raids against the Kapwor herds, the subsequent hostile reception given to the first of the Kapwor famine refugees, the expulsion of the two allies of the Foet, and a few isolated raids, such as the disastrous one undertaken by the Ngikokol, contacts between the Jie and the "Ngikatapa" had been mainly peaceful. Indeed, after the defeats of the 1860's, Jie cattle camps had become very dependant on grazing and watering resources along their western frontier, and during the terrible hardships of the great disasters, many Jie refugees had turned to the Acoli and other western groups for refuge and help. Furthermore a considerable proportion of the Jie community was originally descended from the same ethno-linguistic elements which also comprised important segments of the western populations, and close contacts were maintained

1 Lowot, Loworo, Lobwal, Anyik and Aporu J-8.

between the two groups by affinal ties.

The deterioration of good relations between the Jie and Acoli clearly began during the great disasters. While many bands of Jie refugees had been amicably received, others had been given a poor reception by the Acoli from whom they sought help:

During the troubles, many Jie went to the Acoli for help. Sometimes, if a man and his wife went there to get food, the Acoli would kill the man and take his wife.<sup>1</sup>

During the famine which followed Lopid, many Jie women used to go to Acholi to get food, but often the Acoli refused to let them return to Najie and kept them.<sup>2</sup>

A number of informants (including those of J-42) stated that Jie children were also taken by the Acoli and that some of these were sold as slaves in exchange for substantial numbers of muzzle-loading muskets to traders who had begun making frequent visits to Eastern Acholi.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Lokong (Israel) and Loweef, J-36.
- 2 Lotiang (Ekothowan) and Lengoyang, J-123.
- 3 The informant of J-118 (Peter Nakade) related that some Jie were reduced to such desperation by the great disasters that they voluntarily gave up their children to the Acoli in exchange for food.

The identity of the traders who supplied the Acoli with muskets seems rather uncertain from the oral traditions. Several Jie and a Labwor informant spoke of these traders as "Nubians" (Nginbi, Na-Nubi, or Jo-Nubi, depending on the language in which the testimony was given), but it appears quite certain that Baker's Nubians on the Nile, although they did join with the Acoli for raids on the Dodos, never allowed any firearms to pass into Acoli hands. Rather, the suppliers of the guns were almost certainly the traders whom the Acoli called "Cumpa". Although the Jie referred to the Swahili as "Acumpa", there can be little doubt that the Acoli "Cumpa" were not Swahili, but rather Ethiopian traders, and that they were the ones who supplied the muskets. See Webster, B. (with Lamphear, J.E.), "The Jie-Acholi War: Oral evidence from Two Sides of the Battle Front", U.J., 35, 1971, p.32.



While bad feeling was thus engendered over the treatment of some Jie refugees, it was the Labwor who were apparently the direct cause of armed conflict between the Jie and Acoli. Having become embroiled in a feud of their own with the Acoli, the Labwor turned to the Jie for support, and because of their close inter-dependence based on the iron trade, the Jie felt obliged to side with their iron-making friends.

Jie cattle camps watering and grazing near Loyoit in north-eastern Labwor were caught between the feuding Labwor and Acoli, and stock was lost:

Acoli attacked our ngauyoi at Loyoit and stole goats at the same time that they were fighting the Labwor... All the ngauyoi were withdrawn to the east, but the Acoli followed them and attacked again.<sup>1</sup>

The Jie clearly realized, then, that relations with the Acoli were deteriorating badly, but they were apparently simultaneously busy on two other fronts, driving Dodos ngauyoi out of the Koton area to the east after a sharp engagement at Logum, and then launching a successful raid against a Dodos leader called Amodule to the north. Spies sent out by the Acoli, erroneously interpreting black excrement of Jie who had been drinking blood and milk to mean that the Jie were suffering from dysentery, returned with reports that the Jie were in a weakened condition and not expecting an attack. This intelligence led to the mobilization of what Webster has described as "the largest military force ever mustered by the Acholi kingdoms of Agago",<sup>2</sup> accompanied by no less than six rwodi and all their outstanding military leaders, and com-

<sup>1</sup> Lowot, Koki, Locero and Riamakol, J-45.

<sup>2</sup> Webster, Ibid., p.34.

<sup>3</sup> A detailed description of this battle, from both the Jie and Acoli points of view can be found in Leach and Webster, Ibid.

posed of probably at least 2,000 warriors. This massive force, armed mainly with muskets, and supported by spearmen, launched a multi-pronged dawn attack which according to all Jie tradition took them completely by surprise. The focus of the attack was Caicaon territorial division in Rengen, although settlements in Koting division of Lokorwakol were also overrun by one Acoli wing.<sup>1</sup>

The Acoli army, partly impeded because of a rain-storm which had drenched much of their powder the night before, was held back for more than an hour by a pitifully small band of Jie warriors from the immediate neighbourhood under the command of their local battle-leaders. However, despite wet powder, enough of the Acoli firearms were functioning to inflict terrible casualties on the Jie defenders, who managed to hold a thin defensive line only through sheer courage and bravado. This delaying action was just sufficient for Loriang's new organisation of territorial division-based battalions to go into operation, and one after another, the unified battalions arrived on the battle-field with almost incredible speed and efficiency to shore up the defensive line in front of Caicaon. Finally, even the "elite" battalions of Panyangara and Nakapelimoru, the most distant from the battle-fields, arrived under the personal direction of Loriang, and the Acoli army, which was already beginning to withdraw, lost all semblance of order and ran.

At this point, Loriang demonstrated his great military skill by drawing in all the battalions of his army, as well as all the Rengen warriors, into a unified force and launched a methodical and well-organised pursuit of the Acoli, which turned a successful defence into a resounding victory.

1 A detailed description of this battle, from both the Jie and Acoli points of view can be found in Lamphear and Webster, *ibid.*



The battle was, in a sense, reflective of all Jie military history: the Jie endured through sheer courage and personal bravery until a more efficient and better organised system finally allowed them to take the offensive. The success of Loriang's new organisation can be gauged by the fact that a Jie force, outnumbered by at least four to one and armed with entirely traditional weapons, had decisively defeated the largest force ever faced by a Jie army, and one heavily armed with fire-arms besides. The Acoli sustained staggering casualties, and large numbers of their muskets fell into Jie hands. While the numbers of Acoli slain can never be known, among the dead were some of the most important leaders of the eastern Acoli, including Ryemard, rwot of Lira Paluo and leader of the Council of eastern Acoli rwodi; Lojun, rwot of Paiper; Cana Gola, war-leader of Pader; and Lakut, war-leader of Paimol.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the battle of Caicaon, which was fought in about 1902,<sup>2</sup> Loriang demonstrated that he also possessed considerable diplomatic skill. He was instrumental in forging a working military alliance with the same Acoli kingdoms which his battalions had defeated at Caicaon, and he also played an important role in concluding a peace with the Nyakwai with whom trouble had broken out through an unfortunate misunderstanding:

- 1 Personal communication with Professor Webster; also Okeo (Yonasan) L-11. A Jie song, recorded in Lamphear and Webster, *ibid.* also lists the Acoli leaders who fell.
- 2 A date at the end of the nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century is indicated by age-set chronology, and a date of about 1902 seems indicated by the elephant hunter, "Karamoja" Bell, who was told of the battle during an early visit to Najie: "(I) learnt of an attack on their country by a Nile tribe with numerous guns of muzzle-loading type. The Jiwe with spears alone had not only repulsed the attackers but had massacred most of them." (Bell, W.D.M., Wanderings of an Elephant Hunter, London, 1923) Bell apparently made two safaris to Najie, one in 1905 and again in 1909. It seems certain that he was told of the battle during his first visit. At that time the battle was obviously fresh in Jie minds, but enough time had passed for them to trade off many of the Acoli muskets they had captured.



The Jie went to attack some Karimojong nganyoi which were near Lolung, below the Nyakwai hills. At the same time, some Nyakwai happened to come down from their hills, and were passing near Lolung. The Jie saw them and attacked them, thinking they were Karimojong. It was only after they had been fighting for some time that the Jie realized their mistake.<sup>1</sup>

Although his battalions could unquestionably have smashed the numerically weak Nyakwai in a concerted thrust, Loriang wisely chose to make peace with them, thereby conserving his forces and ensuring that the Nyakwai would remain neutral in the resumption of full-scale warfare with the Karimojong, which he knew to <sup>be</sup> imminent. Loriang's diplomacy was to prove justified, for almost immediately the Bokora Karimojong began a series of determined forays against those Jie cattle-camps which were still located on the open plains between Mt. Toror and the Nyakwai Hills. First at Nagum (also called Kamorumoru or Kakem) and then at Naorot just outside the settled area of Najie, the Bokora, probably under the command of a courageous battle-leader called Apaomielelem, launched successful raids which resulted in the capture of considerable Jie livestock.<sup>2</sup>

After these set-backs, all the cattle-camps from the area were recalled to Najie, and Loriang set about to inaugurate the second phase of his planned military innovations. Although his new battalions had performed superbly in the defence of Najie at Caicaon, Loriang realized that the outlying cattle-camps, guarded only by small bands of herdsman

1 Lothiko (Elawa), J-131. In recent personal communication, Mr. Herring informed me that the Nyakwai have rather similar traditions describing the incident and state that it was Loriang himself who concluded the subsequent peace with them.

2 Nakong (and others), BK-8; also MTK-3





Plate XV (above); Warriors of the Kotido "Battalion", armed with spears and shields, form up prior to a ceremony. Mt. Toror, which was the focus of much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century warfare, looms up in the background.

Plate XVI (below); Women and a herd boy move off before an "attack" during a mock battle.





would continue to be vulnerable to attacks, no matter how efficient his strategy for the defence of the settled area of Najie might be. To Loriang the answer to the problem was obvious: his battalions would take the offensive, and carry the war for the first time to the settled areas of his enemies. Loriang decided that attacks should be concentrated on the Bokora, Pei and other allied Karimojong sections, whom he correctly assessed as the most imminently threatening.<sup>1</sup>

After the victory at Caicaon, much of the scepticism concerning Loriang and his innovations had died away, and with the commencement of his campaigns against the Karimojong, Loriang carried his changes even further. He recruited a number of especially skilled observers who could impersonate the dialects and imitate the dress of the enemies, and used them as a spy network which would remain for long periods in or near enemy country before bringing back intelligence reports. He also employed a number of runners who stayed near his homestead and served as messengers who could be sent out quickly to the various territorial divisions with orders to muster their battalions for a campaign. He also selected a personal bodyguard from among the bravest and most skillful warriors of every territorial division and age-set. Jie warriors considered it a great honour to be selected for this bodyguard

1. The Dodos, after their repulse at Tiira and the subsequent successful Jie raids, appear to have temporarily abandoned any plans for major offensive campaigns against the Jie. Also, sometime prior to this, the Dodos had stolen the anywil (the "sacred bar of iron", described on pp. 3963, Ch. III, above) of the Hengen in a raid and had thereby incurred great supernatural retribution: "The Dodos began to die in large numbers and they realised the anywil was cursing them. They returned the anywil to the Hengen and asked them to remove the curse." (Lodon and Meron, J-127). Quite possibly this incident also did much to forestall the resumption of major attacks on the Jie.

Apart from the successful raids on the Dodos mentioned on p.42/above, a Jie force personally commanded by Loriang attacked Dodos settlements at Naoyangyany during the dry season following Caicaon. The Jie surprised the Dodos while they were performing an akiwodokin ceremony and made off with large numbers of cattle, although casualties were apparently light (Lobilatum, J-51).



and by choosing many of the same battle-leaders whose independent authority he had reduced, Loriang considerably assuaged any ill feeling they still harboured. Armed only with the sacred stick given to him by the senior elders, Loriang would march ahead of his battalions prior to the commencement of action, waving the stick towards the enemy to ensure Jie success. Just as the fighting began, Loriang would retire to the rear of his battle-line, from where he could direct the course of the battle, to be surrounded by his bodyguard which would be employed only as a kind of élite reserve in a desperate situation, or to form a rear guard after the army began its march back to Najie after the fighting.<sup>1</sup>

After a successful attack, Loriang himself would supervise the division of captured cattle and other booty, giving each battalion a certain number based both on its size and on its performance in the battle, and thus ending the confused internecine mêlées which had been a typical feature of the division of booty in the past:

Loriang controlled his army very well. After a battle he would himself divide the captured cattle among his men, saying "I do not want you to struggle over these cattle. I shall divide them fairly amongst you." Of course Loriang, because he was a great man, could take as many as he wanted for himself. It was the way in which he organised the army which made him great, and we warriors knew that.<sup>2</sup>

In many ways his greatest achievement, however, was the inclusion by Loriang of other elements into his Ngikorwakol army, the most important of whom were the heretofore largely independent warriors of the Rengen moiety. The battle of Caicaon had been fought mainly on Rengen soil and although the traditional battle-leaders of the Rengen and

1 Interviews including J-8, 12, 18 and 34.

2 Nakade (Peter), and others, J.16. Also J-12, 52 and 58.



them join the army and share in the spoils. Loriang accepted but and their "private companies" had fought bravely, they were clearly impressed with the efficiency and the success of Loriang's newly organised Ngikorwakol battalions. Soon after Caicaon, but before the commencement of his campaigns against the Karimojong, Loriang sent his messengers to Rengen to recruit a contingent of Rengen warriors. At this early stage, Loriang did not attempt to undercut the authority of the individual Rengen battle-leaders, and the first recruits were selected from among those Rengen warriors who did not owe their primary loyalty to any "private company":

Loriang's messengers came here to Rengen to select men for his army. Loriang had told those messengers not to select the very fierce warriors who were known for their great bravery, but rather those who had good characters (ejokak ngipitesie) and could be trusted to obey him.<sup>1</sup>

After the initial successes of Loriang's offensive campaigns, however, the entire Rengen army, "private companies" and all, came firmly under Loriang's command and was included as its own battalion in the Jie line of battle between the battalions of Kotiang and Losilang (their closest Ngikorwakol neighbours).<sup>2</sup> Quite apart from the Rengen, other, totally alien, elements were incorporated into Loriang's army. A contingent of Labwor warriors, some armed with fire-arms, under their own war-leader, Logo, joined their traditional friends for the wars against the Karimojong. Later, after his campaigns were well under way, a force from the same Acoli kingdoms which had attacked Caicaon, and led by many of the same leaders who had fought there, arrived in Najie with presents for Loriang as an inducement to let

1 Ekudi and Morunyang, J-15.

2 Interviews including J-59, 91 and 95. Although no tradition specifically mentioned it, Natebele, the seasoned Rengen hereditary war-leader must have died well before this time. Traditions do recall that his successor played an important role only in the ritual preparation of Rengen warriors for battle and not on the battle-field itself.

3 Interviews including J-15, 19, 34, 109; 1-1, 4, 9; 3-5 and 7.



them join his army and share in the spoils. Lorian accepted both their gifts and their aid, and by the end of his campaigns, a large number of Acoli, mostly musketeers, were distributed throughout his battalions.<sup>1</sup>

While it is of course impossible to be certain of the size of the army which Lorian fielded in his offensive campaigns, there are indications which point to its approximate numbers. Informants who were themselves veterans of Lorian's army invariably estimated that the combined Jie battalions amounted to between 300 and 500 fighting men. Besides the warriors, informants indicated that almost an equal number of uninitiated boys in their early teens would accompany the army to carry shields, water and food, to help with driving off the captured cattle, and of course to gain valuable experience in battle (much in the same way as the uDi of a Zulu army, it would seem).<sup>2</sup>

Turning again to Tufnell's population estimate of 1911 (see p.39/above, the Jie would appear to have had a maximum of 1,500 men from whom to draw their fighting forces, and undoubtedly Lorian sought to incorporate as many of these as possible into his army for an offensive campaign. Of course, a fairly large proportion of the potential fighting force had to be employed at the cattle-camps to guard and care for the Jie herds, and a rather small additional force, drawn from the 3

1 Interviews including J-15, 19, 34, 109; L-1, 4, 9; BK-5 and 7.

2 Interviews including J-40, 51 and 64. At large ritual gatherings and other occasions where it was possible to check, I was invariably impressed with the ability of Jie elders to estimate very accurately large numbers of people. Aton (J-110), Lorian's grandson, who has inherited the position of war-leader claimed that he himself commanded an army of about the same size of that of his grandfather, and stated that his Karimojong opponents also fielded forces of comparable size. In May, 1958 (when Aton was actively engaged in raids with the Karimojong), Karimoja Police records reported that a Karimojong army of 600 men undertook an offensive campaign against the Jie. (The incident is recorded in Dyson-Hudson, op.cit., p.242).

3 Longoria and Nakwa, J-115.

younger age-sets was assigned by Loriang to remain in the settled area of Najie as a kind of "home guard". Still, it would be reasonable to assume that a third of the able-bodied men could have been fairly easily mobilised for a given campaign, and it is therefore very likely that there were usually about 500 Jie warriors in Loriang's army. It is more difficult to be sure of the numbers of the Labwor and Acoli who allied themselves with Loriang during his later campaigns. Jie, Karimojong and Labwor traditions agree that these forces were not as numerous as the Jie warriors, but that they did constitute an important segment of the army. It would probably be reasonably correct to estimate that the Acoli and Labwor allies were about half as numerous as the Jie warriors, and so it is likely that by the end of his campaigns Loriang was commanding a force of about 750 warriors, plus several hundred uninitiated boys.

Finally, Loriang instituted a rather complex chain of command system by which his orders could be smoothly executed. His immediate lieutenants were the individual commanders of the territorial division-based battalions. Each of these men was appointed by Loriang to command all the warriors from his own territorial division and was responsible for their rapid mobilisation upon receiving orders from Loriang. The chief of these lieutenants was Aleper, the commander of the Kotido battalion, who acted as second-in-command to Loriang and was often entrusted with the task of actually mustering the army.<sup>1</sup> Unlike Loriang,

1 Information about Aleper and the other battalion commanders was supplied by informants including those of J-76, 92 and 98. Among those informants were Lokong (Israel) and Teko (Ekalam), two of Aleper's sons. Lokong also described some of his father's exploits in his booklet Lokong Tells his Story, written in conjunction with the Rev. H. Paget-Wilkes, published by the BCMS, London, 1930.

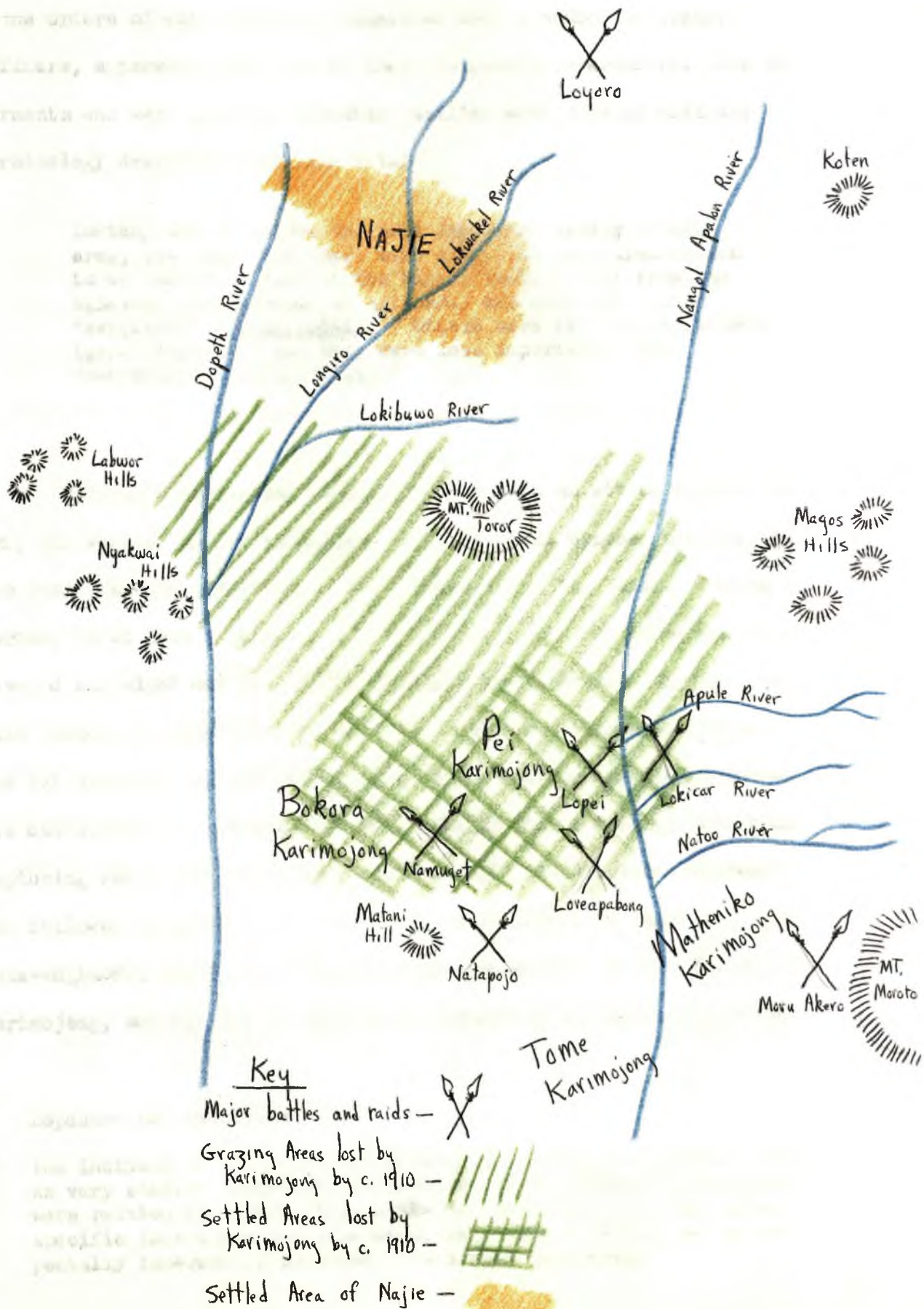


# MAP 15

## Loriang's Offensive Campaigns, c. 1902-10



MAP 2



the battalion commanders went into battle fully armed and were expected to take an active part in the fighting. Directly subordinate to the orders of each battalion commander were a number of lesser officers, apparently selected by their respective commanders. Jie informants who were at least somewhat familiar with British military terminology described them like this:

Loriang was of course the most important leader of the army, but under him there were others who were also chosen to be leaders. Some of the bigger leaders were from the Ngieleki (age-section of Ngikokol) and they were like "sergeants" (ngisergenti). Others were from the Ngikosowa (generation-set) and they were less important, like "corporals" (ngikorporali).<sup>1</sup>

Loriang's Karimajong campaigns began with an attack against the Pei, the weakest of the Karimojong sections which opposed the Jie, and who inhabited the territory to the south-east of Mt. Toror. Typically Loriang first sent a party to spy out the Pei, but the party was discovered and wiped out except for one man, Longabon, who hid in a pumpkin garden and made his way back to Loriang with a detailed report of the Pei strength and the locations of their cattle. Loriang gathered his battalions and attacked the Pei, handing them a massive defeat and capturing large numbers of their livestock.<sup>2</sup> This initial success was followed in rapid succession by other victories at Nakaterot, Lokitela-angimoru, Juuru, and Namugit, during which the Pei and Bokora Karimojong, who had for so many years controlled the resources of peri-

1 Lopacure and Lobilatam, J-46.

2 The incident of the spies was related by Lotiang (Ekothowan) J-123. As very similar traditions concerning all of Loriang's campaigns were related in a very large number of interviews, I shall cite specific interviews and informants only when referring to an especially interesting incident or a direct quotation.



pheral areas which the Jie considered to be theirs, began to fall back on the heartland of their own countries, abandoning disputed grazing areas and watering points to the victorious Jie. Entire herds of captured Karimojong livestock began to flow back into Najie, and very soon the Jie realized that they were already in possession of more cattle than they had been even in the days before the great disasters. Taking advantage of the momentum of his victorious army, Loriang even launched far-flung attacks against the Dodos at Loyoro and at Kamuria (near the present township of Kaabong) to the north, and against the Matheniko Karimojong at Moru Akero (near present-day Moroto township) to the south, from which the successful Jie warriors returned with booty which included even a herd of camels.<sup>1</sup> These successes proved that Loriang's victorious army could raid almost with impunity up and down much of the whole length of Karamoja, and it was at this point that the Rengen army and the Labwor and Acoli contingents came flocking to him.

Loriang's next victory was against the combined Pei and Bokora settlements which had withdrawn behind the Lokicar River, well to the south of Mt. Toror. While part of his force captured the Karimojong herds as they were led down to the river to drink, another laid an ambush for the Karimojong warriors who had been holding an

1 The Jie claim that these were the only camels they ever owned and even that ownership was to be short-lived. According to Jie tradition most of the camels soon died after feeding on the egorogoethe plant (kindly identified by Mr. Wilson as courbonia sp.) which grows in profusion in Najie, and the survivors ran away and made their way back to the Matheniko.

2 Jie informants of 1951, 1952 and 1953 and Karimojong informants of 1954 and 1955 gave accounts of this battle which were reported in even the most minute detail.

3 The battle was a subject of the report made by Capt. F. Grant, the Political Officer of the Sudan Mission on the 13th February, 1911. In his report Grant states that the battle took place five miles below. peritit, Part 1.

ekimomwor dance at Ateleng nearby. As the Karimojong rushed towards the river to save their herds, Loriang's men jumped up from their hiding places and slaughtered large numbers of them.<sup>1</sup> The engagement at Lokicar was quickly followed by the battle of Natapojo, in which the Jie army, for the first time incorporating large numbers of Labwor and Acoli, made a thrust deep into the Bokora heartland, attacking settlements near Matani Hill, inflicting heavy casualties, and capturing cattle which (according to the testimonies of many Jie who witnessed it) were so numerous as to form a line "several miles long" when being driven back to Najie. Others recalled that cattle were so numerous that even women and uninitiated boys were given some during the division of booty after the battle. Even so, Natapojo was rather less of a success than most of Loriang's other battles and raids, for even as the victorious Jie were starting home with their booty, a Karimojong force, determined to recoup some of the staggering losses which were being inflicted upon their people, took a different route and arrived in Najie before Loriang and his army. In a very rapid raid, the Karimojong, sweeping away the resistance offered by the novices of the Jie "home guard", fell upon Jie homesteads near Kalomuny Rock in Kotido and captured a number of Jie cattle, making off with them just before the return of the Jie army.<sup>2</sup>

Natapojo was followed by the last major battle of Loriang's campaigns, Loreapabong, which was fought in October, 1910.<sup>3</sup> At least

- 1 The ambush was described by Lobilatum, J-51, who took part in it.
- 2 Jie informants of J-51, 111 and 125 and Karimojong informants of BA-8 and 9 gave accounts of this battle which corresponded in even the most minute details.
- 3 The battle was a subject of the report made by Capt. T. Grant, the Political Officer of the Turkwel Mission on the 13th February, 1911. In his report Grant states that the battle took place five months before. BA-1049, Part II.



in terms of the casualties inflicted, it was to be the greatest battle ever fought by a Jie army, with the possible exception only of Caicaon. Accounts are agreed that large numbers of Acoli musketeers were present for this battle. As the Jie army advanced in a massive three-pronged attack on a heavy concentration of Bokora settlements, the Acoli kept up a concerted fire to cover the advance, retiring behind the protection of Jie shields to reload before presenting another volley.<sup>1</sup> The rolling volleys of musketry did much to confuse the Karimojong, and Jie veterans of the battle recall that except for a few brave individuals, comparatively little resistance was offered. When the Jie spearmen got in amongst the Karimojong homesteads, the affair turned into a massacre. The recollections of Karimojong survivors recall something of the grim efficiency of the Jie and allied forces:

I was a young man when Lorian came to Loreapabong. We ran into our houses to hide. The Jie beat on the houses and when the people came out, they were all speared. I was speared here in my hip - you can still see the scar. The Jie killed everyone in my family, and left me for dead.<sup>2</sup>

When Lorian attacked us at Loreapabong, many Acoli and Tobur (Labwor) came with him. A great many of our people were killed. Many were shot by the guns of the Acoli. Don't ask me what sort of guns they were - I don't know. Do you think there was time to look carefully at those guns? No! They kept firing the guns - "puu! puu!" If anyone even stopped long enough to make the sign of his ox's horns with his hands, he was shot down.<sup>3</sup>

1 The musketry tactics were described by Kere, J-125.

2 Anyakun (Nilipa), BK-4.

3 Nakong, BK-8. In the same way that men frequently called their "ox-names" as a battle-cry, the shape of a favourite ox's horns would also be imitated with the hands to encourage a warrior in battle.

Grant, *Ibid.*, reported that the "Karamojans had little or no chance of defending themselves" and that the Jie army "massacred hundreds of them."

Loreapabong was to mark the pinnacle of Jie military success under Loriang. The engagement secured a vast number of additional livestock to swell even further the Jie herds, and the victorious Jie armies had also brought back large numbers of captured young women and children to be incorporated into the Jie community.<sup>1</sup> In 1909, "Karamoja" Bell could describe the Jie as "a small but very compact, rich, and independent tribe" who were "so rich in cattle and sheep as to be indifferent to other sources of meat supply."<sup>2</sup> Two years later, Tufnell, the Karamoja Touring Officer, could similarly describe them as "extremely rich in flocks and herds".<sup>3</sup> Loriang's army had firmly secured all the frontiers of Najie. The important disputed resources in the Toror area were again under Jie control, and all of the lost territory of the Panyangara and Komukuny was regained. Indeed, the Pei and Bokora Karimojong had had to abandon much of their northern areas and had been pushed far to the south:

- 1 Jie informants frequently stated that Loriang's army captured far greater numbers of cattle from the Karimojong than were being captured from them by intensive Turkana raids during my own stay in Najie. From the records of the Kotido Police Post, a total of 5,288 Jie cattle were reported stolen by the Turkana between April 1969 and October 1970. Quite possibly those figures are somewhat inflated, but as many other raids went completely unreported, the number is probably reasonably indicative of the numbers of cattle involved.

The Jie policy concerning war captives was described by the informants of J-26. Only young women and children were taken by Loriang's men; adults, even women, were killed. The children were adopted by Jie families but could occasionally be ransomed by their parents for a fee of about ten cattle. Young women were adopted by elders who would be entitled to their bride-wealth when married to a Jie man.

- 2 Bell, W.D.M. Karamoja Safari, London, 1949. pp.135 and 142
- 3 Report of H.M. Tufnell, 4/10/11, EA-2119.



Before Lorian began attacking us, our people lived at Lokicar and Natoo and as far north as the place where the Apule and Nangol Apalon Rivers meet. When Lorian came, the people were forced to move away to the south.<sup>1</sup>

In 1911, a year after the battle of Loreapabong, the Karamoja Touring Officer reported that the Jie "have driven all the people from the northern portion of the Bokora country, captured all their stock and carried off many of their women and children. I pointed out to them (the Karimojong) that they had probably only themselves to blame as being the more numerous tribe they had no doubt freely raided the Jiwe in the past ....". In September of that year, the same officer was in command of a patrol which passed through areas near Mt. Toror, and observed that the country of the Fei section, "which was formerly the limit of the Bokora" was now "all uninhabited country", except for large herds of game which ranged freely in the former settled areas of the Pie and Bokora.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, the reports of another British Officer stated that by about 1904 the Dodos of the Loyoro area (the Lokorikituk) had fled northwards, away from Najie, because of Jie and Turkana attacks. He further noted that the southern Dodos who had not fled to the north (presumably the Ngikaato of the Kopos area) were constantly harrassed by Jie attacks, with little or no support being given them by the northern Dodos sections.<sup>3</sup> (See Map 15).

To both his enemies and to his own people, Lorian had succeeded

1 Lotiang (Kilipa) and Dengel, BK-5, also BK-3, 6 and 8.

2 H.M. Tufnell's Report, 11th September, 1911, LA-2119.

3 Report of C.A. Turpin, Northern Karamoja Garrison, 29/2/6, LA-4325  
Part I.

in becoming an almost legendary figure during his own lifetime.

At Jie dances and on ceremonial occasions the most popular song being sung was one listing Loriang's victories, to which new verses were being added in rapid succession:

Ah oo Karenga yee, Kirem Karenga.	Ah, oh, Karenga, yee; we have attacked Karenga.
Kirem Natoo, ah oo!	We have attacked Natoo, Ah, Oh!
Kirem Lopei, ah, oo!	We have attacked Lopei, Ah, oh!
Kirem Natapojo, ah oo!	We have attacked Natapojo, Ah, oh!
Loreapabong, Ah, oo!	Loreapabong, ah, oh! <sup>1</sup>

To his own warriors, he was a hero without parallel, and surviving veterans of his army still lavish in their praise of him 60 years after his campaigns:

I fought in Loriang's army in all of the battles against the Bokora. We captured cattle because of Loriang. We killed enemies because of Loriang. We won great victories because of Loriang. He was a great man. He was a great leader. He was a great Jie.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, to many informants it was only through the efforts of Loriang that the Jie endured as an independent community:

Before we were warriors, the Karimojong and the Dodos always came to attack us in Najie. Then the people went to Loriang and they cried, "Loriang! The Jie are dying!" And when Loriang began to make war on the Bokora and the Dodos, the Jie began to win great victories and Najie was in danger no longer.<sup>3</sup>

While Loriang clearly achieved his dramatic rise largely through his own unquestionable abilities, it must be noted that the Jie community,

1. A large group of Kanawat elders, J-43.
2. Naluk, J-79.
3. Lowot, Loworo, Lobwal (and others), J-8.



hard pressed by stronger enemies and decimated by the great disasters, was desperately ripe for the rise of some outstanding leader of Loriang's calibre. The office of hereditary war-leader provided the frame-work within which Loriang's rise was made possible, but again in Loriang himself must be credited with consolidating heretofore unknown powers in the office.

The ngikeworok (fire-makers) who had consolidated considerable authority in their own offices during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and had done much to encourage closer integration of each Jie moiety, are hardly mentioned in Jie traditions pertaining to the great epoch of warfare which spanned the last half of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century. Both the Ngikorwakol ngikeworok, Dengel and his son Lotum, and the Rengen ngikeworok, Acap and his son Lodioki, who held the offices during this period, seem to have been entirely satisfactory and to have performed their duties adequately. Many informants stated that New Fire was kindled a number of times during the terrible years of the great disasters and also during the critical stages of the wars. The ekeworon of Lokorwakol is further remembered to have kindled New Fire with the inauguration of the Ngikosowa asapanu in about 1880. Clearly the ngikeworok, who were indeed chosen because they were "gentle and

- 1 One discordant note was struck by the informants of J-58, who laid at least part of the blame for the Jie defeats prior to the rise of Loriang on the Jimos ekeworon. "In our grandfather's time, the Jie were always defeated by their enemies. This was because the Jimos ekeworon never had time to make New Fire. He was always too busy running away from the enemies." Although these informants proved to be very knowledgeable ones on several occasions, it seems highly suspect that their's was the only criticism ever leveled against the ngikeworok of this particular period during all of my interviewing. It seems significant, therefore, that two of the three informants were from the Toroi, the clan from whom the Jimos took over the office, and moreover, one of these informants was from the Kanawat branch of the Toroi, descended from Cukamoe, whose claim to the office was successfully opposed by his Jimos uncle, Tamanda.



kind" and because they "did not fight or quarrel",<sup>1</sup> were incapable of providing the kind of leadership necessary in the long era of warfare. As the nukeworok were not expected to take any part in warfare, except for the ritual smearing of warriors before a campaign, their own role in the primarily military epoch was accordingly eclipsed by first the individual battle-leaders, and then, and to an even greater extent, by Loriang. While they undoubtedly continued to provide valuable focii for the ritual unity and the political homogeneity of their respective moieties, their practical role unquestionably became ancillary to that of Loriang, whose leadership transcended the moieties to embrace the Jie community as a whole.

Loriang's authority also impinged on that traditionally accorded to the congregation of senior elders. While Loriang was extremely tactful in his dealings with the senior elders, and throughout his career took definite steps to curry their favour and support, nevertheless by the end of his Karimojong campaigns he had assumed much of the responsibility for determining strategic policies which had formerly been the concern of the senior elders. The traditions make it very clear that Loriang himself decided upon the targets his army would attack. He was sometimes advised by the elders, but more often he seems to have made his decisions alone, or in private council with his trusted battalion commanders, after which his messengers would be sent to inform the senior elders gathered at Looi ritual grove of his plans.<sup>2</sup> Although the elders often performed the necessary augury of reading animal intestines just

1 Lowakori (Ansilmo), J-90; Angura and Koroc (Lopirya), J-101.

2 Interviews including J-76 and 97.

3 Loran (Looi) and Balu (Aradilmo), 16-1.

4 Ngole (Paulo) and Lopyarakori (Lopyarak), 10-1. In 1916, G.S. Turpin of the Northern Garrison, similarly noted that after about 1904 there was little co-operation between the various Godes sections in fighting the Jie. Turpin's Report, 29/2/16, 124-125, Part I.



just prior to a campaign, Loriang is also remembered to have been especially skilled at reading intestines and often performed the task himself.<sup>1</sup>

There can hardly be any question that the great victories won by the Jie army in their offensive campaigns were due directly to Loriang's superior military organisation and tactics. By integrating the Ngikor-wakol and Hengen warriors into a unified and highly efficient army representative of the entire Jie community, Loriang had defeated piecemeal the fragmentary armies of his enemies, based largely on individual sections of their communities:

It was mainly the Bokora (section of the Karimojong) who fought Loriang. The Matheniko (section) did not fight the Jie very often - we had our own wars with the Turkana and the Upe (Pokot).<sup>2</sup>

The Tome (section of the Karimojong) would sometimes join with the Bokora and the Fai to fight Loriang, but most of the fighting was done by the armies of those sections. Loriang never came here to attack the Tome, and so there was not much reason for us to fight him.<sup>3</sup>

Each section of the Dodos had its own army and they usually fought their wars separately ... They hardly ever came together to form one big army.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Interviews including J-18, 33 and 51. Despite the assertions by some Karimojong informants that Loriang was "a great diviner" or "a great magician", the Jie are quite definite that he was not an emuron (diviner) as such. Loriang did sometimes consult an emuron in whom he put considerable trust (unfortunately his name was not recorded). Kere, the informant of J-125, who fought at Natapojo, stated that after the battle the Jie had great trouble in making the captured cattle move off towards Najie. Kere related that Loriang's emuron had predicted that this would happen and had instructed Loriang to kill an ox and a cow of certain colours. When Loriang did as the emuron had advised, the captured cattle supposedly moved off together, without further prodding, towards Najie.
- 2 Lotipu, Lomonyang and Ocom, MTK-3.
- 3 Loram (Ecal) and Balo (Arengimoe), TK-1.
- 4 Ngole (Paulo) and Loyarakori (Apalowak), D-3. In 1916, C.A. Turpin of the Northern Garrison, similarly noted that after about 1904 there was little co-operation between the various Dodos sections in fighting the Jie. Turpin's Report, 29/2/16, EA-4325, Part I.



major. It is furthermore clear that the enemy armies lacked the sophisticated organisation and the internal cohesion of Lorian's force:

Many Karimojong war-leaders fought Lorian. They included Nakipian, Lokario, Lowokorwak, Adarong and Wason. The Karimojong armies were arranged by age-sets ... but the various sets had no special place in the army or any fixed duties. They all just went and fought fiercely and tried to capture cattle. The various sets would say to one another, "If you leave this fight or get into trouble because you are not brave, do not expect us to help you. We must all remain together."<sup>1</sup>

Finally, both the Karimojong and Dodos entirely lacked the concept of a hereditary war-leader who was even nominally in charge of the whole army of any section and during Lorian's campaigns, neither group produced any leader who could emulate his military ability or qualities of leadership. With the Dodos, the war-leader Lokoto, who was a leader of earlier in the nineteenth century had predicted that such people would no longer appear in his time. Until after the battle of Lorian, however, Lokuta, a leader of the Lokaato section, but Dodos traditions make it clear that they were only two amongst many:

During the wars with Lorian, the Dodos had no one war-leader for all the Dodos armies. Each section had its own leader. Lomeris was led by Lokoto and Lopwa. The people of Loyoro (the Ngikorikituk) were led by Loitarong and Pokoto. Other leaders at that time were Dorino, Napaja, Ilangokan and Lokuta.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, the Karimojong were led by a number of "fierce men" who seem to have corresponded closely to the Jie battle-leaders before the rise of Lorian. Typical of these was Nakinei of the Bokora who

owned a musket and commanded a small band of warriors who chose to "follow his gun".<sup>3</sup> Opposing Lorian, then, was an array of petty Kari-

1 Letinong (111), Lokot (and others), BK-3. Also BK-1 and 4. The Karimojong war-leader who achieved the largest following was Nakong and Angela, BK-8, the Bokora, but no apparently did before Lorian's campaigns were fully underway.

2 Akuran and Alinga, D-13. Also D-1, 3, 5 and 8.

3 Anna and Cope, J-38.

4 Loyep (John) and Lobanyang (Esoro), BK-2.

5 Interviews including J-36 and J-37. Both made two visits to Hajia in 1906 and 1907.



mojong leaders which equalled that of the Dodos:

Many Karimojong war-leaders fought Lorian. They included Nakiapan, Lokurio, Lowokorwok, Ldareng and Wacom. But the Karimojong had no-one like Lorian who led all our armies. Our leaders were just brave men who enjoyed fighting.<sup>1</sup>

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By the time of the battle of Loreapabong, other strangers had been making an appearance in some parts of Karamoja for more than a decade. Unlike the brown-skinned Habaci and Acumpa, these strangers were pale-skinned, and Loingolem, the skilled Panyangara diviner who had lived earlier in the nineteenth century had predicted that such people would someday appear in Najie.<sup>2</sup> Until after the battle of Loreapabong, however, few of these European strangers had visited Najie, and those who had were, like the Habaci and Acumpa, primarily concerned with shooting elephants and doing a bit of trading. Of these European hunters, probably the best remembered in Jie tradition is W.D.M. ("Karamoja") Bell, referred to by the Jie simply as "Swana Bell". Another is recalled to have been a tall man with a bushy black beard who constantly laughed in a booming voice. Some elders remember him as a German (in fact, he may well have been an Italian), and claim that he got on poorly with the Acumpa hunters and traders who were also active in Najie at that time.<sup>3</sup>

While it was Bell for one of the other hunters who thus became the

- 1 Lotimong (Kilipa), Dengel (and others), BA-5. Also BK-3 and 4. The Karimojong war-leader who achieved the largest following was probably Apeomialan of the Bokora, but he apparently died before Lorian's campaigns were fully underway.
- 2 Ananu and Cope, J-28.
- 3 Interviews including J-36 and 120. Bell made two safaris to Najie in 1905 and 1909.



first European to actually visit Najie during the first few years of the twentieth century, Europeans had nevertheless been at least vaguely aware of the Jie by at least the early 1880's. The first specific written mention of the Jie appears to have been made by Emin Pasha in May 1881 at his Acholi base, Pajule. Emin wrote: "Lirem, or Lorem, adjoins Lobbor (Labwor) on the north and is called Aje, after its inhabitants; it is very populous.... The district of Koliang lies next to that of Lirem. Behind it, towards the east-north-east is the district of Bognia ...."<sup>1</sup> Although Emin gave these notes "with great reserve" because his information was "gained from Negroes" (*Ibid.*), and, given that place- and group-names as recorded by early European observers often bear little resemblance to their correct pronunciations, it nevertheless seems reasonably clear that "Lirem, or Lorem" refers to Lorengen (the area of the Rengen moiety), that "Koliang" is Kotiang territorial division (which does indeed border Rengen), and that "Bognia" probably refers to the (Ngi) Bongia, an important clan of the Lokorikituk Dodos, who did live to the north of Najie.<sup>2</sup>

1 Schweinfurth, G., et.al. (eds), Emin Pasha in Central Africa, London 1888, p.252. Before leaving Acholi in 1872, Samuel Baker was informed of a country called "Lobbohr" which is clearly Labwor, although an expedition under Wat-el-Mek sent eastwards from Baker's fort at Patiko does not appear to have actually reached "Lobbohr" (Baker, S.W., Ismailia, London, 1874, vol. II, pp.117-9. In May 1874, Chaille-long also mentions "Lobbohr", and noted that its people were feuding with an "adjacent hostile people", probably the eastern Acholi kingdoms. This was most probably the beginning of the feud which culminated in the battle of Caicaon, as described in the text above (Chaille-long, C., Central Africa, London, 1876, pp. 67-8).

2 Emin further noted (*Ibid.* pp.296 and 415) that he himself had seen men from "Bognia" and "Lirem" who had come to Pajule "to barter", and that the people of "Lirem, the Aje division of the Lango tribe" had secured for him some "splendid camels" from the "Turkan" living further east. I was unable to record any specific recollection in Jie oral tradition that any "barter" was being conducted as far afield as Pajule or that any camels were obtained from the Turkana to be traded to any peoples in the west, although perhaps more diligent questioning on my part might have unearthed such a tradition.



country on his way northwards, although he did conclude additional treaties with the Dodos, north of Njalo. Thus, while direct contacts made plans for its first appearance in the heretofore totally ignored area of Karamoja. In that year, Major J.R.L. Macdonald was invited by Lord Salisbury to command an expeditionary force, initially called "The Juba Expedition", whose task it would be to march rapidly northwards concluding treaties with all indigenous tribes, thereby asserting British claims over the peripheries of their sphere of influence as delimited in agreements of 1890 and 1891. In this way it was hoped that access to the Upper Nile by both the French and the Belgians would be denied without any direct clash, and that any Ethiopian expansionist movements to the south and south-west would be effectively checked. After a false start in 1897, Macdonald's force finally arrived in Karamoja the next year. Macdonald detached two patrols from his column, sending one under Kirkpatrick to explore Lake Kyoga and then to make contact with the Nyakwai, while the other, under Austin, descended the Turkana escarpment to explore Lake Rudolf. Macdonald himself led the rest of the force northwards through Karamoja, hoping to arrive eventually at Lado, where he would make contact with Kitchener's gunboats, steaming up the Nile from Omdurman. After concluding treaties with the Karimojong on the Omanimani River, however, Macdonald was warned by them that the tribe which lived to the north, "the Jiwe", were "very hostile and treacherous"<sup>1</sup>, and so he was very careful to skirt their

1 Austin, *op.cit.* p.144. For a detailed account of Macdonald's expedition see Barber, J.P. "The Macdonald Expedition to the Nile", *U.J.*, 28, 1, 1964; also Barber (1968) *op.cit.*, Chapter Two. Macdonald's report on the treaties he conducted can be found in FOCP 7402 (paper no. 27) and his confidential report on the expedition can be found in the same file (paper no. 300, together with a map of his expedition.

country on his way northwards, although he did conclude additional treaties with the Dodos, north of Najie. Thus, while direct contacts and treaties were made with their chief rivals, the Karimojong and Dodos, as well as some sections of the Turkana, the Jie themselves were completely ignored, and there is nothing in Jie tradition to show that they were at all aware of Macdonald's expedition.

Macdonald, and then Sir Harry Johnston, concerned by the amount of illegal ivory hunting and the uncertain boundary between the Abyssinian and British spheres as revealed by Macdonald's expedition, had urged the Protectorate Government to establish direct control over Karamoja. Limited resources, however, precluded such control, and except for the establishment of a station at Mbale, south of Karamoja, to issue hunting licenses and to attempt a vague, long-distance control over the traffic in ivory, Karamoja was again almost totally ignored for the next 12 years. Apparently the only exception was a journey by Lt. C.E. Fishbourne from Nimule, via the Omani, to Mbale in 1907. Fishbourne's route took him through Labwor and Nyakwai, west and south-west of Najie, and at Omani he found that the Indian and Swahili traders who had maintained a depot there had withdrawn upon orders from the Government. Still, his report painted a rather alarming picture of inter-tribal fighting and bands of Ethiopian raiders, but again no immediate action was taken.<sup>1</sup> By 1910, however, the Government of British East Africa finally undertook the adminis-

1 Excerpts from Fishbourne's report appear in Moyes-Bartlett, *op.cit.* p.234. He also described his journey in a journal article, "Lake Kioga (Ibrahim) Exploratory Survey, 1907-1908", *G.J.*, 33, 1909.



tration of its own areas between the Turkwel River and Lake Rudolf, and the Government of the Uganda Protectorate realized that it must extend its administration into adjacent area of its own north-eastern territory, Karamoja. Accordingly, two patrols, one under P.H.S. Tanner of the Uganda Police, and the other under Captain T. Grant, were sent to Karamoja in that year. The 12 years since Macdonald's expedition were well recalled by the Karimojong, but a horrified Grant was urged by anxious Karimojong warriors to inspect the site of the recent Jie victory of Tanner and Grant corresponded closely to the pinnacle of Jie military successes.

Probably just prior to the arrival of Tanner and Grant, Karimojong oral tradition recalls that a patrol of K.A.R. askaris, led by one or two European officers, arrived in the Matani area of the Bokora country, and apparently for no other reason than to demonstrate their power to the Karimojong, clashed with them:

Those people came here from the direction of the Kumama (Iteso, i.e. the west), and they were led by the European called Apalokilorot. I was a young boy at that time and I was living here on this spot at my father's homestead. The European came here with many K.A.R. askaris, as well as the chiefs of the Kumama. He camped there at Matani (about a mile from the interview site) and I saw all of what followed. The askaris were mostly Acoli. They wore caps with pieces of cloth hanging down in back and pieces of cloth wrapped around their legs. In the morning, the askaris began going out and taking people's cattle by force. They did that for no reason, as we had no quarrel with them. No one understood why they did it. Afterwards, the people realized that the European just wanted to show he was the ruler here. When the askaris reached Kayopath, the Karimojong attacked them, but the askaris shot them with their guns and many of our warriors were killed. The Karimojong were defeated, and then the



are supposed to have been traded by Swahilis; the Belgian rifles to European went away with our cattle.<sup>1</sup>  
have come from the Congo through the Nile District and the French arms

No official report appears to have been submitted by the officer(s) who commanded this patrol and so neither his identity nor his motives can be known. Despite this incident (or as Barber (1968), op.cit., p.127, has implied, possibly because of it), Grant and Tanner were well received by the Karimojong, and a horrified Grant was urged by anxious Karimojong elders to inspect the site of the recent Jie victory at Loreapabong. Grant duly reported to Entebbe that the "Jiwe, Ramchuru (Acoli), Chimareng (an Acoli age-set, Cunareng), Taburu (Labwor), Ja-leno, Mugegenel, and Turkana of Tarash combined .... and attacked Karamoja", adding that a large percentage of the attackers had guns and that hundreds of casualties had been inflicted on the Karimojong.<sup>2</sup>

In the same report, Grant stated that he had been informed by "Mr Tanfani, an Italian Trader" (one suspects that he may well have been the tall man with the black beard who got on poorly with the Acumpa recalled in Jie oral tradition) that "the Jiwe are well armed ..... about 90 per cent have rifles ... Martine Henris and .303 are

- 1 Longorio, BK-9. The incident was also mentioned by J-23, BK-6, 7 and 8 and MTK-3 and by Barber (1968), OP.cit., pp.126-7, who was told of it by Lopuko, a former government chief, who also witnessed the battle.

More will be said concerning the nick-names of European officers below. It is impossible to know the identity of the "Apolokiloret" mentioned in this tradition.

- 2 Grant's Report, 13th February, 1911, EA-1049, Part II. Whether the Jie army did in fact include any "Turkana of Tarash" seems very much in doubt, however. A number of Jie informants, including those of J-80, 81, 87 and 123, the Karimojong informants of BK-2 and the Turkana informants of T-19 all agreed that no "Turkana of Tarash" were ever included in Lorian's army. The Turkana informants of T-15 and T-16, however, stated that the Turkana knew of and respected Lorian, and that occasionally some Turkana would join with him. It would seem quite likely that Turkana who did join Lorian were not very numerous and they were probably Turkana who were visiting or trading in Najie at the time of a campaign rather than a force specially recruited from as far away as the Tarash.



are supposed to have been traded by Swahilis; the Belgian rifles to have come from the Congo through the Nile District and the French Gras from Abyssinia."<sup>1</sup> A year later, the Acting Provincial Commissioner reported that a Mr. Johnson (not identified, but presumably an ivory hunter) had told him that it was chiefly in the "Jiwe" country that gun-trading was taking place.<sup>2</sup> Based on these and other pieces of indirect intelligence, the Jie came to be regarded as a belligerent tribe whose military successes were mainly attributable to their being very heavily armed with muskets and rifles. The picture implied by the Government reports has led Barber recently to conclude that: "There were hundreds, perhaps thousands of firearms among such tribes as the ..... Jie."<sup>3</sup> To the vanguard of the Protectorate Administration, however, the real villains of the peace were the Swahili and Ethiopian hunters and traders, who were frequently pictured in the reports as lawless bandits, primarily engaged in gun-running and even slaving, and who often participated directly in inter-tribal raids.<sup>4</sup>

However, the picture painted by these reports conflicts sharply both with the oral tradition of the peoples of Karamoja and with the only existing first-hand report of a European visitor to Najie before

1 Grant, Ibid.

2 Letter of A.H. Watson to the Touring Officer, Karamoja, 16/10/11 EA-2119.

3 Barber (1968), op.cit., p.125.

4 For a good idea of the picture built up by the Government reports see Barber, J.P., "Karamoja in 1910", U.J., 28, 1, 1964, op.cit., especially chapters 9 and 10.

2 The incident was described in U.J. 21 and 2-1.

3 H.M. Taffell's report, 11th September, 1911, EA-2119.

activity, except for providing the very dubious service in 1910. It is difficult to see the long-nosed individuals with the greasy robes of Jie oral traditions as pillaging brigands, and every Jie informant who was asked emphatically denied that even a single Jie was ever carried off into slavery by the traders, with the exception of the famine refugees sold by the Acoli for the muskets they used at Caicaon.<sup>1</sup> Except for the very early clash with the Habaci at Nalingaken (see p. 401 above), there was no hostility between the Jie and any of the traders in Najie, and the only instance of any armed conflict between the Jie and any traders outside Najie took place some years perhaps four times their size, but it was not a great disaster. Lorian, and the destruction by traditional weapons of a Habaci encampment near Kopos in Dodos and were driven off with heavy casualties.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, the Jie appear to have had generally good relations with both the Acumpa and Habaci, and all the traditions still acknowledge the great debt owed to the traders for their having brought large numbers of healthy cattle to Najie after the great disasters. As to the general "lawlessness" in Najie, it seems curious that even among the Government reports is the statement made by the Government Touring Officer for Karamoja in 1911, that: "porters (ie. traders) could go about by themselves there (in Najie) with no weapons but a stick and come to no harm."<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Jie informants, who readily stated that Lorian's army was joined by Labwor and Acoli musketeers, universally denied that any of the traders ever participated in any Jie military

1 As Barber has suggested (1968, op.cit., pp.103-4), most Ethiopian slaving activity was probably confined to the southern provinces of their own territory. My Dodos, Turkana and Labwor informants also denied that any of their people had ever been taken as slaves.

2 The incident was described in J-21 and D-1.

3 H.M. Tufnell's Report, 11th September, 1911, EA-2119.



few of those guns were purchased by the Jie. Despite Mr. Tanfani's activity, except for providing the very dubious service of spying: report that guns could be obtained for ivory or for the same.

Those people never helped the Jie in their fights. Sometimes they acted as spies, informing us if they saw any Karimojong armies in the bush. But they used to tell the Karimojong if they saw any of our armies, as well.<sup>1</sup>

The Jie never bought any guns. Only a very rich man could afford to buy one from the traders. The price of one gun

As to the gun-trading activities of the Acumpa and Habaci and the number of fire-arms in the hands of Jie warriors, there is even a greater discrepancy. Loriang and his warriors, having witnessed the destruction by traditional weapons of a force of Acoli musketeers perhaps four times their size, had little reason to be at all impressed with the military capabilities of fire-arms. While Loriang eventually permitted the inclusion of Acoli and Labwor musketeers in his army, undoubtedly more to swell his numbers than to augment his armament, his policy towards the use of fire-arms by his own men was clear: that most of the Acoli muskets were either sold to the Acumpa

Loriang bought no guns from the traders. He did not want them. His men fought with spears. Had not their spears defeated the Acoli guns (at Calcaon)? A few of the younger men bought guns but not many.<sup>2</sup>

A few fire-arms were lent or given to Jie individuals willing to help them actively in hunting elephants after the great disasters by the habaci and Acumpa, and while some of the hunters and traders did indeed begin to arrive in Najie with rifles and muskets as part of their trade-goods during the first decade of the twentieth century

1. Grant's report, op.cit., p. 102, Part II.  
2. Ina (Jebodayo), and others, J-123. Informants from territorial divisions, including those of J-12, 15, 16, 24, 33, 40, 111, 118, 120 and 123, indicated that very few guns were owned.  
1. Amukhai (Akitibuin), J-89.  
2. Lobwal, J-34.

3. Bell (1923), op.cit., p. 63.  
4. Nakade (Peter), J-57; also J-120.  
5. Opira (Jebodayo), Opira, and Lulira (J-1), J-4; also J-10.

few of those guns were purchased by the Jie. Despite Mr. Tanfani's report that guns could be obtained for ivory or "a few cows each",<sup>1</sup> most of the Jie regarded the prices of guns far higher than their potential value:

The Jie never bought many guns. Only a very rich man could afford to buy one from the traders. The price of one gun was as many as ten oxen. Few could afford that .... Here in Kanawat (territorial division) my own father owned one gun, and there were three others who had them as well. That was all. Only those four.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, in 1905, "Karamoja" Bell could note that most of "the firearms which were picked up by the Jiwe (from the Acoli casualties after the victory at Saicon) had since been traded off to Swahilis", in direct reversal of the picture suggested by the Government reports, and that the Jie army relied on "spears alone".<sup>3</sup> This was further supported by both Jie and Labwor oral tradition, which stated that most of the Acoli muskets were either sold to the Acumpa or else to the Labwor:

My father killed two Acoli at Caicaon and captured their guns. One he sold to his Labwor friend Apulobu for ten goats, and the other he sold to the Acumpa.<sup>4</sup>

The Jie captured some guns from the Acoli (at Caicaon). After the Labwor got some of those guns (from the Jie) we were able to drive the Acoli away (from the Labwor area).<sup>5</sup>

1 Grant's Report, op.cit., BA-1049, Part II.

2 Inua (Lodweny), and others, J-128. Informants from other territorial divisions, including those of J-12, 15, 16, 22, 33, 40, 111, 118, 120 and 123, indicated that correspondingly few guns were owned in their own divisions. From their collective testimonies it would seem that the maximum number of fire-arms of all varieties ever possessed by the Jie did not exceed more than about 100.

3 Bell (1923), op.cit., p.63.

4 Nakade (Peter), J-57; also J-125.

5 Ogira (Jebedayo), Oceng, and Odiyo (Saul), L-4; also L-10.



The Labwor, to whom adoption by the Jie army of large numbers of fire-arms would have seriously disrupted their own lucrative trade in traditional iron weapons, were themselves clearly unconcerned by the numbers of fire-arms which were bought by Jie warriors:

The Jie never bought many guns and there was still a great need for our spears. Even those few warriors who had a gun still continued to carry their spears as well.<sup>1</sup>

In 1909, only a year before the battle of Loreapabong and Mr. Tanfani's intelligence that "90 per cent" of the Jie were armed with fire-arms, Bell could write an eye-witness report that although the Jie did still own a certain number of the muskets captured at Caicaon, as well as some additional ones captured in later raids, such armament hardly played any great role in their military activities:

.... The Jiwan thought that fire-arms made a big noise and a nasty smell ... Besides being the possessors of all these captured guns, they had ... executed raids on their softer Nile-valley dwelling neighbours, thereby adding still more to their armament and wealth. But it was chiefly at their dances that they used the alien armament, and then only to produce noise ... It will thus be seen that they were in a very nasty state of ignorance of the potentialities of the modern fire-arm....<sup>2</sup>

Bell went on to note that because of the success of their army, the Jie had by this time given up most of the ivory hunting activities to which they had been forced to turn after the great disasters, thereby eliminating from their economy one of the two commodities which Mr. Tanfani claimed could be exchanged for guns. According to Bell, the Jie relied on their own military system, rather than the traders, to amass their great wealth:

1 1 Ibid., p. 141.

2 2 Bell (1949), *op.cit.*, pp. 136-7. Contact with Mrs. Dean, Bell's niece, was kindly established for me by Col. Chidlaw-Roberts. Unfortunately, however, Bell seems to have left no journals or other unpublished material on Karamoja.



Indeed, the Jiwans generally show an indifference to, and a detachment from, the subject of (hunting) elephant not found among the poorer and less war-like tribes such as the Bukore, Dodinga and Dobossa. And here it may be remarked that tribal interest in hunting methods for acquiring wealth varies in inverse ratio to fighting abilities.<sup>1</sup>

Even the enemies of the Jie, who bore the full brunt of Lorian's victories, were clearly aware that the Jie army did not depend on firearms for its successes, and that those guns which were employed against them were mainly in the hands of Lorian's Labwor and Acoli allies, and then only at the very end of the Jie offensive campaigns:

The only time that any Jie ever used guns against us was at Loreapabong. In that battle the Jie themselves had a few guns, but their friends the Acoli and the Labwor had most of them. Before that battle, Jie armies had always come against us with only spears.<sup>2</sup>

In all fairness to them, the Karimojong had quite probably tried to indicate to the European observers that it was not the Jie, but their western allies, who had most of the guns, as their meticulous listing of all the alien elements in the Jie army for Grant's benefit (see p. 448 above), seems to show. However, the vanguard of the Protectorate Government either misunderstood, or else chose to ignore any such intelligence, and chose instead to credit the picture painted by Messrs. Tanfani and Johnson who, it is important to note, may well have been in direct rivalry with the Acumpa and Habaci traders and hunters, and would have had every reason to resent the good relations which existed between them and the Jie. At any rate, Grant drew no distinction between the Acoli musketeers and Jie spearmen in Lorian's

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Nakong and Angela, BK-8; also MTK-2 and 3.



he left behind four persons, described in a subsequent report by force, and was clearly totally oblivious to the efficient Jie military system forged by Loring's own genius which was the true reason behind the Jie success.

At any rate, Tanner was sent north with a patrol to investigate the stories of gun-running and lawlessness and thus became the first representative of the Protectorate Government to set foot in Najie. It was this patrol, composed of a force of Uganda police-men under the command of H.M. Tufnell, which marched northwards in September, 1911, and made the first real contacts with the Jie. Traditions recall the patrol, it seems to have gone on to the north acting as the vanguard were longshots, the Bagos leader whose people without an incident of any kind in Najie. It would seem that most of Tanner's investigations were conducted at Tshudi Tshudi (the site of present-day Kaabong township) in northern Dodos, where he found an important Ethiopian trading post, considerable gun-running activity, and a great deal of ivory which was being sent from there, out of Karamoja, to Ethiopia.<sup>1</sup> On his return from Dodos, Jie traditions do recall that Tanner (Topana to them)<sup>2</sup> did stop off briefly in Najie where

- 1 It is most regrettable that the file (EA-71/1910) containing Tanner's report has "disappeared" from the Entebbe Archives, possibly lost during a fairly recent transfer of files from one room to another. A number of other potentially valuable files, including EA-64/1911, EA-1411, EA-1754 and 1294/06, have also disappeared, or have been recently re-classified as "confidential".

Barber saw Tanner's report prior to its loss, and according to his account of the patrol (Barber (1968) *op.cit.*, p.111), it does seem clear that all of Tanner's descriptions of gun-running and lawlessness referred specifically to the Tshudi-Tshudi area of northern Dodos.

Tanner's account of lawlessness and gun-running in Dodos is most probably correct, and indeed Dodos oral tradition strongly supports much of it. The Dodos informants of D-7, for example, freely admitted that the Dodos had "Many more guns than the other peoples of Karamoja" and that the traders frequently combined with Dodos armies in battles. Clearly the situation in Dodos was very different than that in Najie.

- 2 All of the early European officers were given nick-names by the Jie (as well as by the other peoples of Karamoja). Often it is very

continued on next page.....



he left behind four porters, described in a subsequent report by the Tufnell as "too sick to travel",<sup>1</sup> to be cared for by the Jie. According to Jie traditions their "sickness" had been caused by having the skin cut from the soles of their feet as a punishment either for lagging behind the patrol or for trying to desert.<sup>2</sup>

It was the next patrol, composed of a force of Uganda police-men under the command of H.M. Tufnell, which marched northwards in September, 1911, that made the first real contacts with the Jie. Acting as his guides were Lokothowa, the Magos leader whose people had been driven out of their homeland to the southern parts of Karamoja perhaps 30 years before, and Nakinei, a Bokora battle-leader who

Footnote 2 continued from previous page

difficult to be certain which officer is being referred to by a given nick-name. Tanner and Tufnell (and possibly Turpin) for example, were apparently known by the same nick-name, Topana. Some informants stated that this was an attempt to say "Governor", while others claim that it was an attempt to say the officer's name (possible for "Tanner" and "Turpin", but hardly likely for "Tufnell"). Fortunately Tufnell is frequently referred to as Lokijukwa ('the slow-moving one' because by Jie standards his patrols covered such short distances in a days march), or Topana-Lokijukwa. A later officer, possibly Chidlaw-Roberts, is remembered as Apalakilorot ('he who grows up on the way', because he was at first assumed to be Topana who had aged considerably between visits to Naji). Another is remembered as Acoli Matar ('he who goes to Acoli') or Apangakibuk ('the sour milk drinker'), and although I cannot be certain, he may have been Webb-Bowen.

1 Interviews including J-28, 112, 117, 119, 120, 127 and 131.

I am grateful to Col. H. Moyes-Bartlett for supplying me with details on a number of the officers serving with early patrols in Karamoja from his very extensive file on KAR officers. These details often allowed me to establish the identity of an officer mentioned in various traditions.

1 Tufnell's Report, 2/10/11, EA-2119.

2 Interviews including J-28, 40, 94, 114, 119, 120, 127 and 131.



Before the detail had then had fired a round at Tufnell), had been one of the few Karimojong to offer brave resistance to the Lorian, who had been a member of the party of the arrival of Jie army at Loreapabong. Both men had been employed by Acumpa traders the patrol, was very well equipped by his pastillions who, at various times and their knowledge of Kiswahili and the ways of the efficiency, had been to mobilize with the appearance of the strangers. Many of the warriors were irate over the confiscation of Lorian's cattle by the vanguard of the Protectorate Government. Both had related detailed stories of the atrocities committed by Jie armies and, had served under Jie in every battle since Jie's arrival to be undoubtedly recalling the fire-power of a similar patrol against their fellow-Karimojong at Kayapath (see p. 447, above), had readily volunteered to guide Tufnell and his men to Rajie.<sup>1</sup> On the 6th September Tufnell and his men arrived in Panyangara territorial division, and he immediately sent for "Lorangamoy (Lorian) ... (who was) said to be the organizer of all the raids", but Lorian, unused to being summoned by anyone, contented himself with sending some of his messengers to see what the strangers wanted.<sup>2</sup> Infuriated by Lorian's disdain, Tufnell, after waiting three days, took a detachment to his kraal and rounded up all of Lorian's cattle he could find. After a thorough search through the houses of Lorian's settlement, his men returned with a total of 37 rounds of ammunition and some gun-powder, but found no fire-arms. During the confiscation of the cattle, a total of five guns had been seen in the hands of Jie warriors who fell back

1 Interviews including J-28, 111, Ba-7, 8, 9 and Ia-1.

2 Tufnell's Report, 11/9/11, Ia-2119. A number of Jie informants, including those of J-23, 27, 34, 36, 40, 59, 90, 125 and 131 gave descriptions of Tufnell's arrival which corresponds very closely to his own account. Unknown to Tufnell, a party of Acumpa traders were fleeing north, just ahead of his patrol. Although in a great hurry, several informants (including those of J-16, 17, 36 and 127) recalled that they took the time to stop off in Rajie to warn them of the approach of the patrol and urged the Jie to exercise great caution in dealing with it.



before the detail (one of them had fired a round at Tufnell). Lorian, who had gone to another part of Najie with the arrival of the patrol, was soon surrounded by his battalions who, with typical efficiency, had begun to mobilise with the appearance of the strangers. Many of the warriors were irate over the confiscation of Lorian's cattle, and the men of the Neikwei age-set of Ngikosowa, veterans who had served under Lorian in every battle since Tiira, clamoured to be allowed to crush these impudent strangers. A different course of action was urged by one Lopetum, however, a Rengen who had worked for the Acumpa after the great disasters and, in visiting areas outside Karamoja, had come to understand something of the potential power of these strangers:

The Europeans made their camp at Panyangara. The Jie had heard how the Bokora had attacked them at Akalale (Nayapath) and how the Europeans had killed many of the Bokora. The Europeans had black soldiers with them at Panyangara and they dug a deep hole all around their camp. But the Ngikwei were very brave warriors and they said, "Let us go and slaughter these people like goats!" But the man from Rengen (Lopetum) who knew the most about Europeans came and said, "Brothers! Are you really going to kill these people? You can kill these few very easily, but I have been to the place they come from, and there they are as numerous as black ants! If you kill these, many, many more will come here, until they are enough to kill us all." And so the Ngikwei, grumbling, went back to their homes and left the Europeans in peace.<sup>1</sup>

Lorian accepted Lopetum's advice, and the next morning appeared in Tufnell's camp to reclaim his cattle and to make peace with the

1 Inua, Apalodokoro, and Lomongin (Julio), J-23. Although these informants said "Europeans" in the rendition of this tradition, they subsequently indicated that there was only one European, accompanied by African soldiers. The incident was also reported in J-27, 28, 114 and 118.



strangers. In his previous dealings with the Acoli after Caicaon and the Nyakwa after the clash at Lolung, Lorian had demonstrated his diplomatic skill, and had shown that he would readily make peace if he considered it to be advantageous to the Jie. His offensive campaigns had secured every Jie frontier and had reclaimed all of the grazing lands, watering points and salt-licks the Jie had ever controlled. He had established excellent relations with the western neighbours of the Jie. Militarily, it could be argued that Lorian's offensives were already somewhat over-extended, and with his very clear understanding of strategy and tactics, it can be reasonably assumed that Lorian himself was aware of it. Jie traditions recall that in their meeting, Topana Lokijukwa (Tufnell) "spoke with a soft voice" and Tufnell himself reported that:

.... (the Jie) were told that the days of raiding must now come to an end. I told them that I did not want to go into past shauris (affairs) and that they could keep what they had captured but that the women and children taken (in raids) must be produced and returned to Bokora in my presence. This they agreed to do and the compact has been carried out.<sup>1</sup>

The peace talks appear to have been conducted with a certain amity on both sides, but the whole affair nearly ended in disaster when, some days later, Tufnell discovered that the four "sick" porters left in Najie were dead. The Jie tried to explain that the porters, fearing to sleep inside a Jie homestead, had remained outside and were murdered by a small Bokora raiding party which came to Panyangara one night to steal cattle. Tufnell refused to believe them, and

1 Tufnell's Report, 11/9/11, EA-2119.

2 Tufnell's reports of 11/9/11 and 1/10/11, EA-2119; interviews 2-33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44. The informants of 2-27 and 40 recalled that Tufnell presented Lorian with a masaka as a parting gift and urged him to wear it.

3 Tufnell's Report 11/9/11, EA-2119.

confiscated 40 Jie cattle. According to Jie traditions, this was accomplished by Tufnell's first seizing a number of aged senior elders and roping them together by the necks, releasing them only when 40 cattle were paid in ransom. Again the Jie warriors clamoured to attack the strangers, and again it was only by Lorian's extraordinary control that they were kept from doing so.<sup>1</sup>

Before leaving Najie, Tufnell appointed Lorian as chief of the southern part of Najie, and Lopetum as chief of the northern part. Tufnell had apparently seen no other fire-arms in Najie, and having realized that if they were to retain this northeastern part of their sphere of influence, a disarmament process must be maintained in Tanfani and Johnson, and others, he was obviously rather surprised, and somewhat lazily reported that:

It is difficult to get any idea as to the numbers of rifles these people have obtained as they are very cunning and pretend that they have none, or when asked about those that are by chance seen say they were captured from the horoto kamuru (Acoli).<sup>3</sup>

It is notable that when in the following year Tufnell made a systematic confiscation of Jie fire-arms, he managed to collect only

22, including seven antiquated muzzle-loaders which were probably

- 1 It is notable that 60 years later, every Jie informant I asked about it was still adamant that the porters had in fact been murdered by the Bokora, and all were still very resentful towards Tonana Tokiukwa for not believing them and subsequently mistreating the elders. The incident was related in a great many interviews including J-28, 36, 40, 94, 118, 119, 120, 127 and 131.
- 2 Tufnell's reports of 11/9/11 and 4/10/11, EA-2119; interviews J-23, 34, 36, 59, 90, 125, 131. The informants of J-27 and 40 recalled that Tufnell presented Lorian with a kanza as a parting gift and urged him to wear it.



souvenirs of Calcaon. Having collected these 22, Tufnell could report by the end of the year that there were "few guns left in the district".<sup>1</sup> While the officers of the Uganda Protectorate had thus been mistaken concerning both the lawlessness and the numbers of fire-arms in Najie, the anxiety caused by exaggerated and misleading reports had been sufficient for the expansion of (to borrow Barber's terms) "the Imperial Frontier" northwards through Karamoja. Having taken the initial steps, the Protectorate Government found itself inexorably committed to the administration of Karamoja, for as Tanner led his patrol northwards in 1910, the Governor in Entebbe received intelligence that Dejaz Beru, the Ethiopian Ras of Maji, was preparing to establish permanent Ethiopian posts in Karamoja and Turkana.<sup>2</sup> The British realized that if they were to retain this northeastern part of their sphere of influence, a discernable presence must be maintained in the area, and from 1911, Karamoja and the Jie came under military administration, with regular patrols, initially by the KAR, and then during the First World War by the Uganda police, operating throughout the district. Permanent outposts were established at Moroto, Moroto River and Loyoro, and in addition to the appointed chiefs, each territorial division of Najie was to be governed by its own representative "Atuk" (native council) selected by its own people,

1 Barber (1968), op.cit., pp. 142-3. Barber's information appears to have come from either KA-2957 or KA-2364, but although I consulted both files, I must have overlooked it. Jie informants, including those of J-28, 32, 36, 42, 114 and 118, recalled that after he had collected the guns, Lokijukwa made a bonfire in Kotido division and burned them all.

2 The Dejaz Beru incident and the events which transpired are fully treated by Barber (1968), op.cit., pp. 112-115.

and directly responsible to the District Commissioner. By 1920, a "Rest House" for the officers of visiting British Patrols had been built in each territorial division and the boundaries of Jie County had been officially delimited to include all of the territory effectively under their control by the end of Lorian's campaigns.<sup>1</sup> In the following year, the military administration was replaced by a civil administration.

A few years after his encounter with Tufnell, Lorian died of an infected abscess on his leg.<sup>2</sup> With him died the long era of conflict which had culminated in the recovery of their lost territories and had ensured, at least temporarily, the endurance of an independent and more closely integrated Jie community. With Lorian's death and the extension of the Protectorate Administration, some of Lorian's veterans bemoaned the passing of the era in which they had won so many great victories:

When Topana and Lokijukwa and the other Europeans began coming here, they stopped the wars. There was no more real fighting after they came. After they came we who had been warriors were made like women.<sup>3</sup>

To many other Jie, however, the peace brought by the Administration was welcomed, and they accepted that a new era had dawned:

Before Lokijukwa came here, we were constantly fighting. It is true that Lorian led us to many great victories, but many people were becoming tired of the wars. When Lokijukwa told us not to attack the Karimojong and Dodos anymore, we obeyed. He said that he who killed an enemy

1 Chidlaw-Roberts, op.cit., pp.1-3.

2 Interviews including J-31 and J-110.

3 Munu (Apaesiyai) and Apalakapel, J-33.



would himself be killed. We kept our country, and peace came. And the people were happy. Those were good days. Those were the days of peace and rain.<sup>1</sup>

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It would seem likely, then that the expansion of the Jie had gone almost as far as possible (or at least desirable) by the time of the arrival of the British Administration; and, in retrospect, it is probable that peace between the Jie and their northern and southern rivals would have been concluded not long after Loreapabong, even had the Administration not arrived. The arrival of that Administration was first accepted and then even welcomed by many Jie who soon realised that it could and would ensure their right to use the vital resources on the peripheries of their now officially delimited country.

What can never be known is how far the new-found military integration of the Jie community under Lorian would have been extended into peace-time had not the Administration arrived at that moment in Jie history. With the return of peace, would Lorian and his hereditary successors have continued to exert a degree of centralised authority over all the Jie, or would the Ngikorwakol and Hengen ngikeworok (fire-makers) have re-emerged as the focal points for the separate identities of each of their respective moieties? Or (and this must be regarded as unlikely) would the strongly segmentary system of the Lokorwakol terri-

1 Longok (Apacelem), Ekongor, and Lothike (Elawa), J-29.

have returned once again?

during the first half of the nineteenth century, and 20 years have elapsed since the death of the last Jimos ekeworon, Lotum, without

influence, commanding well organised and disciplined armies in huge  
raids against the Karimojong, which must have been reminiscent of  
Loriam's great campaigns. Since that time an increasingly vigorous  
presence by the Uganda Army in Karamoja has precluded the mustering

have again become increasingly important, although Atom has remained (informant no. 109), which is a much respected and often consulted military authority, for both the war-names are Ngikorwakol and the Kengen.



## APPENDIX 1

A GAZETTE OF JIE AND NON-JIE INFORMANTS AND RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

Notes on gazettes of Jie and non-Jie informants: The informants are listed alphabetically by the name they are most commonly called. Other names, including Christian names in those few cases where an informant has been baptised, are included in brackets after the common name. An approximate age for the informant is then included. In almost no case did an informant know his exact age, but an approximate age is calculable from the informant's activities at known dates, as well as from his physical appearance. This is followed by special notes on relevant offices held, or activities engaged in, by the informant. Then follows the generation group (asapanu) and, where known or applicable, the age-set (anyamet) of the informant. The territorial division is then listed and, for those informants of the Jie Rengen and Nakapelimoru divisions, the relevant sub-divisions are listed in brackets following the name of the division. Then the informant's clan and, where applicable, sub-clan or major group are included. Reference should be made to the clan lists for a full understanding of these entries. The chronological number of the interview (termed "historical texts") participated in by the informant is then listed. The best informants are indicated by relevant notes, and anything which may have affected the informant's testimony (such as poor health or senility) is noted.

Notes on Jie personal names: The first name given to an Ejiot is given to him as a new-born infant when his umbilical cord is cut. This name is usually given to him by his grandmother and other old women of the area, and it is very often the name of an ancestor. In such cases, the child takes all the names of that ancestor, although he is commonly known by only one of them. For example, Kamari (informant no. 60) still occasionally is known by the name "Dengel", the name of his grandfather who was a famous hereditary Fire-Maker (ekeworon).

The next name taken is usually an ox-name, which the person himself chooses, naming himself after a favourite bell-ox. These names usually begin Apa- (father of). Thus, "Apalokapel" (informant no. 21) could be translated "father of the white and brown ox". These names are often taken when a man is still young and unmarried. Some men prefer to be called by their ox-name even in old age, and many men use their ox-names as a second name.

Younger men also frequently are given, or take, a nick-name, often jokingly or as another ox-name. For example, Awangaki (a famous Ekuliakit leader) can be translated, "he with protruding ears".

If a man is successful in war, and if he kills an enemy, he is given a war-name, often ending in -moe ("enemy"). Thus, the second name of Kokec (informant no. 109), which is Lomorumoe, can be translated "mountain enemy", probably commemorating that he killed an enemy on a hill. Other examples of war-names are Lobilatun (informant no. 78), "he who breaks a spear", and "Apabeluk", "father of the ox with cut ears", the ears of a bell-ox being cut after its owner kills an enemy.

The Jie have no family names as such. The first name an Ejiot is given (that when the umbilical cord is cut) is usually the one retained throughout his life and, as such, certain names are perpetuated within Jie families and clans from generation to generation.

Much of the above is also applicable to non-Jie informants.



A.) Gazette of Jie Informants

- 16 Angura (Lopelirinyet): age, c. 90; fought at Calcaon and Tiro; a very good informant; physically quite infirm, but mentally keen; by the end of 1947, he was a very good informant; knowledge of Kiswa-hili; asapanu, Ngikosowa; clan, Pot; J-19, J-87.
- 1 Abiroi: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotiang; clan, Kaekar; J-35. A very good informant; physically quite infirm, but mentally keen; by the end of 1947, he was a very good informant; knowledge of Kiswa-hili; asapanu, Ngikosowa; clan, Pot; J-19, J-87.
- 2 Acap (Lodioki): age, c. 55; Ekeworon (hereditary fire-maker) of the Rengen; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Rengen (Lokatap); clan, Kalolet (or Lodoi); J-108.
- 17 Angura (Lopelirinyet): age, c. 90; fought at Calcaon and Tiro; a very good informant; physically quite infirm, but mentally keen; by the end of 1947, he was a very good informant; knowledge of Kiswa-hili; asapanu, Ngikosowa; clan, Pot; J-19, J-87.
- 3 Acau: age, c. 45; division, Panyangara; clan, Kapwor; J-10, not a good interview as both Acau and Lokiru, his brother, were apparently suspicious of me.
- 18 Amuru: age, c. 50; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikwete); division, Kowakany; J-28; a very good informant; knowledge of Kiswa-hili; asapanu, Ngikosowa; clan, Pot; J-19, J-87.
- 4 Acia (Ruomoe): age, c. 75; died in June, 1970; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Losilang; clan, Toroi; J-19.
- 19 Anyiki: age, c. 50; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Panyangara; J-8; a very good informant; knowledge of Kiswa-hili; asapanu, Ngikosowa; clan, Pot; J-19, J-87.
- 5 Acila: age, c. 78; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikwete); division, Rengen (Calcaon); clan, Kimula; J-31, J-82. Present at battle of Calcaon as a herd-boy. A very good informant.
- 20 Apalodokoro: age, c. 60; former Panyangara Chief of Amuru to c. 1947; a very good informant; knowledge of Kiswa-hili; asapanu, Ngikosowa; clan, Pot; J-19, J-87.
- 6 Acila: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Nakapelimoru (Lokokorok); clan, Cakalomun; J-100, present at J-77.
- 7 Acukwa (Urule): age, c. 70; servant of the former Jie county chief, Lopetum, probably in 1920's and 1930's; good knowledge of Kiswa-hili; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Rengen (Kapelok); clan, Ngikalopetum; J-21, J-91. Family originally from Dodos.
- 21 Apalo: age, c. 60; former Panyangara Chief of Amuru to c. 1947; a very good informant; knowledge of Kiswa-hili; asapanu, Ngikosowa; clan, Pot; J-19, J-87.
- 82 Adia (Iokongukuyo): age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Rengen (Kadwoman); clan, Nariwo; J-93.
- 9 Adome: age, c. 85; a female informant - probably an amuron; husband's asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngingatunyo); husband's division and clan, Kotido, Loser; father's division and clan, Kotiang, Ngadakori; J-62. A very good informant; quite well known in Kotido as having a good knowledge of Jie oral history; rather infirm physically, but mentally alert.
- 24 Apari: age, c. 80; a female informant; born in Amuru; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Panyangara; clan, Kapwor; J-71. A very good informant; quite well known in Kotido as having a good knowledge of Jie oral history; rather infirm physically, but mentally alert.
- 10 Adunge: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Kanawat; clan, Teso (of Lokore); J-92.
- 25 Apai (Adomugro): age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Siboru); division, Panyangara; clan, Kapwor; J-71. A very good informant; quite well known in Kotido as having a good knowledge of Jie oral history; rather infirm physically, but mentally alert.
- 11 Akejan: age, c. 90; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Panyangara; clan, Kapwor; J-71. A very good informant; very frail and totally blind, but still mentally alert.
- 26 Apeyo: age, c. 80; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Kowakany; J-28; a very good informant; knowledge of Kiswa-hili; asapanu, Ngikosowa; clan, Pot; J-19, J-87.
- 12 Akuremeri: age, c. 85; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokatap; J-7, J-47; senior man of his branch of Lokatap clan; almost totally blind, but mentally alert; suffered from smallpox during great disasters.
- 28 Apua: age, c. 80; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Kowakany; J-28; a very good informant; knowledge of Kiswa-hili; asapanu, Ngikosowa; clan, Pot; J-19, J-87.
- 13 Aleper: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngikolimoru); division, Kotido (settled in Kanawat); clan, Lokwor; J-44, present at J-41.
- 14 Amuk (Akitibuin): age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Nakapelimoru (Potongor); clan, Lopao; J-89, present at J-88.
- 29 Amuk: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Nakapelimoru (Potongor); clan, Lopao; J-89, present at J-88.
- 15 Amunyo: age, c. 50; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Rengen (Lokatap); clan, Kalolet; J-95; blind and rather infirm.



- 31 Arini: age, c. 80; nephew (?) of Lokea Lohoramee (see below); asapamu, Ngimugeto; division, Panyangara; clan, Lohoramee (Sinoval);
- 16 Angura (Lopeirinyet): age, c. 90; fought at Caicaan and Tiira; a veteran of Lorian's army; one of the most senior men of Losilang division; asapamu, Ngikosowa; clan, Poet; J-19, J-87. A very good informant; physically quite infirm, but mentally keen; by the end of my stay in Najie he had weakened considerably.
- 17 Angura: age, c. 65; local Council member, 1940's; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapamu, Ngimugeto; division, Rengen (Kadwoman); clan, Cilapus; J-50, J-101.
- 18 Anumu: age, c. 80; a porter for "Lokijukwa"; a veteran of Lorian's army; asapamu, Ngimugeto (Ngigwete); division, Komikuny; J-28; a very strong personality and well thought of in Komikuny.
- 19 Anyik: age, c. 50; asapamu, Ngimugeto; division, Panyangara; J-8; although youngest man present at interview, his forceful personality tended to dominate.
- 20 Apalodekoro: age, c. 60; former Parish Chief of Kanawat to c. 1947; maternal grandson of the war-leader, Lorian; asapamu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Lokore (Ngikakere); J-23, J-75, J-128. A very good informant; knowledge of Kiswahili.
- 21 Apalokapel: age, c. 85; veteran of Lorian's army; rather feeble and partially blind; asapamu, Ngikosowa; division, Kanawat; clan, Longelep; J-2, J-33.
- 22 Apalopetaa: age, c. 55; asapamu, Ngimugeto (?); division, Panyangara; J-13.
- 23 Apangolen: age, c. 80; a female informant; great-grandmother of research assistant, Mario Longok; husband's asapamu, Ngikosowa; husband's division and clan, Kotido, Loser (Mamukinei); father's division and clan, Kotido, Losogot; J-67; rather infirm and senile.
- 24 Apariamaring: age, c. 80; a female informant; born an Atesot; husband's division and clan, Panyangara, Rikitai; J-68; quite infirm and senile; not a good interview.
- 25 Apei (Adolungiro): age, c. 75; asapamu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Losilang; clan, Jimos (Kalolet); J-22.
- 26 Apeyo: age, c. 70; asapamu, Ngimugeto; division, Komikuny; J-49.
- 27 Aporu: age, c. 55; asapamu, Ngimugeto; division, Panyangara; J-8.
- 28 Apua: age, c. 70; asapamu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Meri-wala (of Toroi); J-114.
- 29 Arikode (Locan): age, c. 45; asapamu, Ngimugeto (Ngimuria); division, Kotido; clan, Lokocil; J-47, present at J-7.
- 30 Aringole: age, c. 65; former Parish Chief of Lokatap; sub-county chief of Rengen, probably in 1930's and '40's; family originally from Acholi; asapamu, Ngimugeto (Ngirengelem); division, Rengen (Lokatap); clan, Orom; J-26, J-107, present at J-108; helped to arrange interview with the Rengen Fire-Maker and helped locate other Rengen informants, some knowledge of Kiswahili.



- 31 Arini: age, c. 65; nephew (?) of Lokec Lomorumoe (see below); asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Panyangara; clan, Ngikaloding (of Sinotoi); J-96, present at J-34, J-49; seems to be actively learning oral traditions from his uncle (?), Lokec, and is becoming quite knowledgeable.
- 32 Atom: age, c. 55; grandson of the hereditary war-leader, Loriang; until recently a noted and active war-leader of the Jie; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngigwete); division, Panyangara; clan, Lodoa (Lojom); J-110.
- 33 Atongo: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Panyangara; clan, Loperdu (of Lolatio); J-30.
- 34 Atoong: age, c. 85; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Rengen (Lokatap); J-25; present at J-95; somewhat senile, but still contributed some information.
- 35 Auku: age, c. 45; asapanu, Ngitome; division, Kotiang; clan, Kulok; J-6; was somewhat intimidated during interview because of his Kulok descent by Jie who were present.
- 36 Aupe: age, c. 40; division, Panyangara; clan, Kapwor; J-10.
- 37 Aurien: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngigwete); division, Rengen; J-4.
- 38 Cila: age, c. 65; division, Rengen (Caicaon); J-14. A very chaotic interview due to a large crowd of noisy spectators; Cila was called away during part of the interview.
- 39 Cokon (Irar): age, c. 80; a veteran of Loriang's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Nakapelimoru (Kadoca); clan, Kareu (or Karewok); J-90.
- 40 Cope: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngigwete); division, Panyangara; clan, Poet; J-28; ag good knowledge of Kiswahili.
- 41 Dodoi: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Nakapelimoru (Potongor); clan, Lokocil; J-88, present at J-89; rather ill due to an infected eye.
- 42 Esak (Timothy): age, c. 65; converted by BCMS Mission, 1931; evangelist, Kotido Mission, 1933; received some primary schooling at Lotome Mission in Karimojong area; teacher and head-teacher at Kotido Primary School, 1930's and '40's; clerk at Kotido home, 1940's; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Kanawat; clan, Lokatap; J-5, J-48, J-126. An outstanding informant.
- 43 Ekongor: age, c. 65; a porter for "Lokijukwa"; division, Panyangara; clan, Poet; J-29; rather ill on day of interview.
- 44 Ekudi: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Rengen (Kapelok); J-15; definitely suspicious of me during early part of interview.
- 45 Elat: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirengelem); division, Rengen (Lokatap); J-26.



- 46 **Ethiokon:** age, c. 75; probably a Turkana; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Komukuny; clan, Loposa; J-111; took little part in interview.
- 47 **Etukon:** age, c. 60; local council member, 1950's; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirisai); division, Rengen (Kadwoman); clan, Gelangole; J-32.
- 48 **Igira (Yaramoe):** age, c. 95; one of the senior-most men of Nakapelimoru; fought at Caicaon; a veteran of Loriang's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngidewa); division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); clan, Kairwata (of Thiokol); J-17, J-84; although blind and rather deaf was mentally alert; was taken quite ill just prior to my departure from Najie.
- 49 **Igira:** age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngigwete); division, Komukuny; J-27; rather withdrawn.
- 50 **Iiko:** age, c. 50; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotido; clan, Losogot; J-54.
- 51 **Ilukol:** age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirengelem); division, Losi-lang; clan, Jimos; J-55; totally blind; good knowledge of Kiswahili.
- 52 **Ilukol (Apalotinga):** age, c. 45; division, Kanawat; clan, Nyakwai; J-92.
- 53 **Ilukol:** age, c. 75; a female informant; husband's division and clan, Kotido, Lokatap; father's division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); J-66; a near neighbour and frequent visitor to our home.
- 54 **Iluputh:** age, c. 85; a veteran of Loriang's army; an assistant ekaworon (fire-maker) to Lotum; son of the Nakapelimoru ekaworon, Epamaruktom; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Nakapelimoru (Lokokorok); clan, Jimos; J-59, J-100. A very good informant, although quite infirm; was very weak by the time of my departure from Najie.
- 55 **Inok:** age, c. 50; probably a Turkana; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotiang; clan, Kadukan; J-39; participated very little.
- 56 **Inua (Lodweny):** age, c. 75; sergeant of local askaris, c. 1920-41; served in many parts of Karamoja; some knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Lokore (Ngikakere); J-23, J-75, J-128, present at J-117. A very good informant; physically rather infirm, but very keen mentally.
- 57 **Iteba:** age, c. 90; fought at Caicaon; a veteran of Loriang's army; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotiang; clan, Kadukan; J-39; supposedly one of the very first Ngimugeto initiates; very feeble, totally blind and quite deaf; questions had to be relayed by his wife.
- 58 **Iwuari (Daniel):** age, c. 65; Roman Catholic convert; Church Teacher at Kongole, 1930's; a Dodos staying in Najie; Dodos asapanu, Ngikamar; Dodos division, Korikituk; Dodos clan, Sogolo; J-43, present at J-41; seemed to have fairly good knowledge of both Jie and Dodos traditions.
- 59 **Kakoi (Apaemanik):** age, c. 90; veteran of Loriang's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Nakapelimoru (Kadoca); clan, Karewok; J-18; almost blind and perhaps somewhat senile, but still a forceful personality.



75. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotiang; clan,
- 60 Kamari (Dengel): age, c. 40; son of the ekeworon (hereditary fire-maker), Lotum, and possible candidate for that office; assistant parish chief, Kaceri; regarded as a leading man of the Kaceri area; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Losilang; clan, Jimos; J-53, present at J-51.
76. Lobalok: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
- 61 Kapel: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirisai); division, Nakapelimoru (Kadoca); clan, Karewok; J-18.
- 62 Kapel: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Panyangara; clan, Lokore; J-30.
- 63 Kenye (Apaemaler): age, c. 74; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotido; clan, Lokocil; J-63, present at J-47; prayer invoker in J-Rit.-1; one of the senior members of Ngimugeto in Kotido.
78. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
- 64 Kere: age, c. 80; a veteran of Lorian's army; former assistant parish chief of Kotido; local council member; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Kotido; clan, Lokatap; J-12, J-64, J-125, prayer invoker at J-Rit.-8. A very good informant; a close neighbour; grandfather of part-time employee Joseph Acoboi.
- 65 Kojo (Looya): age, c. 85; fought at Calcaon; a veteran of Lorian's army; parish chief in Rengen, 1920's; some knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngidewa); division, Rengen (Calcaon); J-60; despite his age is mentally and physically fit; well known throughout much of Najie as an authority on oral history.
79. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
- 66 Kojo: age, c. 60; division, Rengen (Kadwoman); clan, Lomejan; J-93.
- 67 Koki: age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwer (Lokiding); J-45; rather infirm and quite deaf.
81. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
- 68 Koroc (Lokepon): age, c. 60; assistant ekeworon (fire-maker); hereditary first initiate of the Ngimugeto; supposedly a direct descendant of Orwakol; naturally considered a foremost man of the Ngikorwakol Jie; some knowledge of Kiswahili; division, Kotiang; clan, Toroi (of Kadukan); J-73, J-103.
82. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
- 69 Koroc (Lopirya): age, c. 70; a son of the ekeworon, Lotum; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Losilang; clan, Jimos; J-50, J-101.
83. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
- 70 Kulomoe (Apaesiyai Munu): age, c. 85; a veteran of Lorian's army; probably the most senior man of Lokatelakoebu settlement area; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kanawat; clan, Longelep; J-13, J-33; still renowned as a great warrior; urged the Jie to resist appearance of Europeans; perhaps a bit senile.
84. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
- 71 Kwenye: age, c. 45; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngimuria); division, Kotido; clan, Loperdu; J-105.
85. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
- 72 Lakut: age, c. 60; division, Panyangara (Kadokini); J-9.
86. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
- 73 Langlang: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); clan, Thiokol; J-17.
87. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
- 74 Lengoyang: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirengelem); division, Kotiang; clan, Lokwer; J-123.
88. Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;
89. Lobali: age, c. 85; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Kotido; clan, Lokwep; J-12, J-40;



- 75 Lobali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotiang; clan, Kaekar; J-35; took little part in interview.
- 76 Lobalong (Joseph): age, c. 70; served as askari for "Topana" from c. 1914-1923, trained at Loyoro Post, served on patrols throughout Karamoja and in Turkana; converted by BCMS Mission; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Kotido; clan, Lokatap; J-12, J-40, J-130. A very good informant; a close neighbour to my home in Kotido; some knowledge of Kiswahili.
- 77 Lobeerei: age, c. 85; fought at Tiira and Caicaon; a veteran of Lorian's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngidewa); division, Nakapelimoru (Lokokorok); clan, Kalobur (Oyakwara); J-59, J-98. A very good informant, though infirm.
- 78 Lobilatun: age, c. 90; fled to eastern Lango as a youth after the "great disasters", and there earned his name, "he who breaks the spear" after a quarrel; fought at Caicaon; a veteran of Lorian's army; one of the senior-most men in Najie at the time of his death in October, 1970; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Nginyamanya); division, Kanawat; clan, Longelep; J-11, J-46, J-51, J-80. An outstanding informant, though totally blind and unable to walk; probably the last survivor of Nginyamanya age-set.
- 79 Lobukui (Apanator): age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); clan, Ngikalogwang; J-16; rather frail, seemed much older than his true age.
- 80 Lobul: age, c. 75; an Orom Acoli visiting in Najie; served in KAR, 1914-20; saw action in Tanganyika and was wounded; sergeant-major, 1920; initiated into Jie asapanu Ngimugeto; J-106.
- 81 Loburkan: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Kanawat; clan, Teso (of Longelep); J-122.
- 82 Lobwal: age, c. 70; elder of the two surviving sons of the hereditary war-leader, Lorian; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Panyangara; clan, Lodeca (Lomukura); J-8, J-34, present at J-49.
- 83 Locam: age, c. 50; a relative (cousin? half-brother?) of Koroc Lokepon (see above); asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotiang; clan, Toroi (of Kadukan); J-39.
- 84 Locam: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwor; J-44.
- 85 Locen: age, c. 80; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotiang; J-19.
- 86 Locen: age, c. 50; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Rengen (Kadwoman); clan, Lobore; J-95.
- 87 Loceng (Natwanga): age, c. 55; father of part-time research assistant, Peter Lokiru; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); clan, Ngikalogwala; J-16, J-83, present at J-17.
- 88 Locero: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwor; (Lokiding); J-45.
- 89 Locole: age, c. 85; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Komukuny; clan, Lodera; J-72.



- 90 Locoto: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Rengen (Kadwoman); clan, Lokadeli; J-20 and probably J-26.
- 91 Locweei: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngitome; division, Kanawat; clan, Teso (of Lokore); J-36.
- 92 Loderor: age, c. 76; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Panyangara; clan, Lodoca; J-27.
- 93 Lodio (Apaedongol): age, c. 65; former parish chief of Kotiang; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotiang; clan, Loonei; J-74, present at J-73; guide on archaeological trip to Ngolemuria Hill area; helped to arrange interview with Koroc Lokepon, the hereditary asapanu leader.
- 94 Lodon (Kapelinyang): age, c. 65; local council member; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Kotido; clan, Lokatap (Naoyekitoi); J-3, J-40, J-127, present at J-64. A very good informant.
- 95 Lodon: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngigwete); division, Rengen; J-4.
- 96 Loduali: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngitibilangajep); division, Komukuny; clan, Loposa; J-65.
- 97 Logwee: age, c. 50; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Kotido; clan, Lokwor; J-44; very forceful personality, dominated interview.
- 98 Logwee: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirengelem); division, Losilang; clan, Jimos; J-56.
- 99 Logwee: age, c. 70; knowledge of Kiswahili; division, Rengen (Kapelok); clan, Loperdu; J-91.
- 100 Logwela (Gonye): age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Kotido; clan, Lokatap; J-3, J-40, J-125, present at J-64. An outstanding informant.
- 101 Logwela: age, c. 65; division, Rengen; J-14.
- 102 Logworo: age, c. 75; a porter for "Lokijukwa"; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Komukuny; J-8, J-127; participated more in second interview than first.
- 103 Loibok (Daudi): age, c. 70; MOW employee, 1930's - '40's; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Rengen (Kadwoman); J-26.
- 104 Lojom: age, c. 40; nephew (?) of Aungole (see above); asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikokol); division, Rengen (Lokatap); clan, Orom; J-107.
- 105 Lokala: age, c. 65; served in local askaris, 1930's (?); division, Panyangara; J-9.
- 106 Lokamu: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotiang; clan, Kadukan; J-39.
- 107 Lokapel: age, c. 85; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Rengen (Lokatap); J-25; rather senile.



- 108 Lokayan: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Rengen (Kadwoman); clan, Lomejan; J-124.
- 109 Lokac (Lomorumoe): age, c. 85; fought at Caicaon; veteran of Lorian's army; one of the senior-most men of Panyangara; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Panyangara; clan, Ngikaloding (of Sinotoi); J-49, J-96. An outstanding informant; is widely known throughout Najie as an authority on Jie oral history.
- 110 Lokeler: age, c. 40; spent several years in Kenya working for Somali trader; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Kotido; clan, Poet (of Losogot); J-102. Very knowledgeable for so young a man.
- 111 Lokelo (Angelo): age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Longelep; J-43.
- 112 Lokelo (Yeyatum): age, c. 75; fought in Lorian's army at Loreapabong; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Nakapelimoru (Kadoca); clan, Kalokori; J-109.
- 113 Lokinei: age, c. 40; division, Rengen; J-14; a very chaotic interview; Lokinei seemed fairly knowledgeable, but was dominated by older men also present at interview.
- 114 Lokipore (Zakaria): age, c. 35; assistant parish chief of Kaceri; has had some formal primary schooling; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Kotiang; J-4, J-14, present at J-15. Quite knowledgeable for such a young informant, but tended to dominate interviews.
- 115 Lokiru: age, c. 55; division, Panyangara; clan, Kapwor; J-10.
- 116 Lokol: age, c. 30; a female informant; daughter-in-law of Apangolen (see above); husband's division and clan, Kotido, Loser; J-67.
- 117 Lokol: age, c. 90; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); clan, Poet (of Thiokol); J-84; rather infirm.
- 118 Lokoliang: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Panyangara; clan, Ila (Nyakwai); J-113.
- 119 Lokomolo: age, c. 65; former parish chief of Losilang under the county chief, Etuko; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Losilang; clan, Kalollet (of Jimos); J-22.
- 120 Lokong: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); clan, Thiokol; J-17.
- 121 Lokong: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Rengen (Kadwoman); clan, Cilapus; J-20.
- 122 Lokong (Israel): age, c. 70; former sub-county chief of Kotido; converted by BCMS mission and attended Mission School, Lotome, c. 1922; church teacher, Lotome, 1927; local council member, 1930's; the subject of the book, Lokong Tells his Story, by H. Paget-Wilkes, BCMS Mission; son of Kotido war-leader, Aleper; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirengelem); division, Kotido; clan, Loser (Mamukinei); J-36, J-97, present at J-37, J-76. An outstanding informant; good knowledge of Kiswahili. He and his wife, Sarah, were frequent visitors at our home; his son, Abraham, was a part-time employee, and another son was an age-set brother and present at my initiation.



- 123 Lokori (Atiargolem): age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Rengen (Kapelok); clan, Loperdu; J-21, J-91.
- 124 Lokorimor: age, c. 45; son of Lopwanya (see above); asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Panyangara (Kadokini); clan, Poet; J-24; rather silent at interview, probably due to presence of his father.
- 125 Lokoro: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Logelep; J-43.
- 126 Lokoryang (Edoon): age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Rengen (Kapelok); clan, Ladoket; J-21.
- 127 Lokuda (Apatiyan): age, c. 65; affinal kinsman of research assistant, Mario Longok; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Teso (of Lokore); J-92.
- 128 Lokwameri: age, c. 75; veteran of Loriang's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Nakapelimoru (Lokokorok); clan, Kalobur; J-59.
- 129 Lokwange: age, c. 100; supposedly the oldest living Jie; fought at Tiira and Caicaon; veteran of Loriang's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngikwei?); division, Nakapelimoru (Lokokorok); clan, Kalobur; J-59, J-98; extremely infirm and rather senile.
- 130 Lokwii: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Panyangara; clan, Lokore; J-30.
- 131 Lokwii (Nakeapan): age, c. 65; local council member, 1950's; sub-county chief, Kotido, 1950's; father of part-time worker, John Akwoo; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotido; clan, Loser (Nadipal); J-42.
- 132 Lokwii: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Rengen (Lokatap); clan, Wotokau; J-95.
- 133 Lolwanamoe: age, c. 85; fought at Caicaon; veteran of Loriang's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngidewa); division, Rengen (Lokatap); J-60.
- 134 Loma: age, c. 50; division, Kotiang; clan, Lopongo; present at J-106.
- 135 Lomare: age, c. 65; one of the senior-most Ngikuliak; an emuron (diviner); asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotiang; clan, Kulok; J-78, J-129.
- 136 Lomongin (Julio): age, c. 50; good knowledge of Kiswahili; Roman Catholic convert; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Nyakwai; J-23, J-75, J-128, present at J-117. A very good informant, especially for so young a man.
- 137 Lomoni (Belukamoe): age, c. 85; fought at Caicaon; veteran of Loriang's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Panyangara; clan, Natelo; J-49.
- 138 Lomonyang (Apangikiria): age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kanawat; clan, Longelep; J-33; absent during part of interview.
- 139 Lomugur (Locan): age, c. 30; relative (son?) of Lomare (see above); asapanu, Ngitome (?); division, Kotiang; clan, Kulok; J-78.



- 140 Lomulen (Puten): age, c. 70; former sub-county chief, Rengen; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirengelem); division, Rengen (Kadwoman); J-26.
- 141 Longeria: age, c. 75; some knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngisuguru); division, Nakapelimoru (wotokau); clan, Karwok (or Kareu); J-115.
- 142 Longok (Erisa): age, c. 55; former county chief of Jie; uncle of research assistant, James Lodungo; settled at Lokatelakaebu, west of traditional Jie settlement area, and is considered a leading man of that area; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Losilang; clan, Jimos; J-1, J-86.
- 143 Longok (Apacelem): age, c. 75; served as a porter for "Lokijukwa"; one of the wealthiest Jie; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Panyangara; clan, Lodoca; J-29, J-119; performed much better in group interview than as single informant.
- 144 Longole (Apawaruko): age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngigwete); division, Kotiang; clan, Toroi (of Kadukan); J-74.
- 145 Longoli: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotido; clan, Losogot; J-54.
- 146 Longoli: age, c. 65; division, Rengen (Caicaon); clan, Korimunya; J-82.
- 147 Longoli (Apsrlong): age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Nakapelimoru (Potongor); clan, Longele; J-83.
- 148 Longoli (Apanyemuge): age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngikolimoru); division, Panyangara; clan, Lokore; J-104; interview was conducted whilst Longoli herded his goats (in the absence of his sons).
- 149 Longom: age, c. 60; local council member under "Acoli Matar"; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotido; clan, Cedmeu; J-61; a close neighbour and frequent visitor to my home in Kotido.
- 150 Longon (Locekum): age, c. 60; sub-county chief, Panyangara, 1940's - '50's; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirisai); clan, Lokore; J-69; known in Panyangara as something of an authority on Jie oral history.
- 151 Lonyala: age, c. 60; local askari under "Acoli Matar"; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngidewa); division, Kotido; clan, Loser (Magos); J-42, J-81; quite infirm and seemed much older than he really was.
- 152 Lonyakangan: age, c. 80; a veteran of Lorian's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Komukuny; clan, Lopotha; J-65, J-111. A very good informant, but was not as good in second interview as in first due to illness; was failing badly by end of my stay in Najie.
- 153 Lonying: age, c. 70; a kinsman of Apua (see above); asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Kanawat; clan, Meriwala (of Toroi); J-114; present during only part of interview.
- 154 Looci: age, c. 60; son of Akuremeri (see above); asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Kotido; clan, Lokatap; J-47.



- 155 Look: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikangata); division, Komukuny; J-27.
- 156 Loongor: age, c. 45; division, Panyangara; J-9.
- 157 Looru (Sampson): age, c. 65; BCMS Church Teacher, 1936-38; Jie county askari, 1938-52; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Komukuny; clan, Loder; J-9, J-52, J-120, present at J-8, J-69; served as guide for archaeological expedition to Lokibuwo and Mt. Toror (recorded as J-52A and J-52B). An outstanding informant.
- 158 Looru: age, c. 45; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Rengen (Lokatap); J-25.
- 159 Lopacure: age, c. 70; former parish chief, Kanawat; younger half-brother of Lobilatun (see above); born at the time of the battle of Calcaon; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngidewa); division, Kanawat; clan, Longelep; J-11, J-46, J-121. A very good informant.
- 160 Lopio: age, c. 35; a female informant; husband's division and clan, Kotido, Lokocil; father's division and clan, Losilang, Lokatap; J-66.
- 161 Lopor: age, c. 80; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngidewa); division, Kotiang; clan, Lokwor; J-38; dominated this interview.
- 162 Loporon (Cila): age, c. 70; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Kotido; clan, Cedmau; J-94.
- 163 Lopwanya: age, c. 90; a veteran of Lorian's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngidewa); division, Rengen (Lokatap); clan, Poet; J-24; senile.
- 164 Lore: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Nakapelimoru (Lokokorok); clan, Jimos; J-50.
- 165 Lothigiria: age c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Longelep; J-41; tended to dominate interview.
- 166 Lothike (Elawa): age, c. 75; porter for "Lokijukwa"; great-uncle of research assistant, Ernest Korobe; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Panyangara; clan, Lokore; J-29, J-131, present at J-30, J-52. An outstanding informant.
- 167 Lotiang: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Losilang; clan, Kalolet (of Jimos); J-22.
- 168 Lotiang (Wokocom Alinga): age, c. 60; sexton of Roman Catholic Church, Kanawat; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Natelo; J-41, present at J-23, J-43; seemed quite knowledgeable on first encounter, but rather withdrawn thereafter.
- 169 Lotiang: age, c. 80; served as porter for "Lokijukwa"; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Komukuny; J-27; very feeble and nearly blind, but still mentally alert.
- 170 Lotiang (Ekotnowan): age, c. 90; fought at Calcaon; a veteran of Lorian's army; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirengelem); division, Kotiang; clan, Kalolet (of Lopongo); J-58, J-123. A very good informant, though somewhat infirm.
- 171 Lotiang (Ekothowan Apalocobil): age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotiang; clan, Remokwor; J-58.



- 172 Lotukei: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotiang; clan, Kaekar; J-35.
- 173 Louda (Lokauda): age, c. 35; son of Mabuc (see below); one of my asapanu brothers; asapanu, Ngitome; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwor; J-112.
- 174 Lowakori (Ansilmo): age, 51; some formal education; entered local government service, late 1940's (?), now county chief of Pian; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Nakapelimoru (Kadoca); clan, Loru; J-90, present at J-109. A very good informant; good knowledge of Kiswahili; some knowledge of English.
- 175 Lowal (Lokorengok): age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); clan, Nyakwai; J-16.
- 176 Lowor (Elizeo): age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Kanawat (settled in Kotiang); clan, Toroi; J-58, J-106. A very good informant.
- 177 Lowosia (Apaecorod): age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; J-13.
- 178 Lowot: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Panyangara; J-8.
- 179 Lowot: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Longelep; J-41.
- 180 Lowot: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Cedmeu; J-45; seemed rather suspicious of me; not a good interview.
- 181 Lowot (Lomugereng): age, c. 65; son of the ekaworon, Lotum; a candidate for that office; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirisai); division, Losilang; clan, Jimos; J-99, J-132.
- 182 Lowuare: age, c. 50; MOW employee in Karamoja, 1947-56; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Panyangara; clan, Lodoca; J-30; a strong personality and a popular figure in his area.
- 183 Loyang: age, c. 75; a veteran of Loriang's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Losilang; clan, Lokatap; J-19; tended to dominate this interview.
- 184 Loyomo (Apalotewo): age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirisai); division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); clan, Ngerepo; J-18.
- 185 Mabuc (Loputuka): age, c. 80; a veteran of Loriang's army; served as my "father" and sponsor for my initiation; father of part-time worker and asapanu brother, Andrew Teko; recently impoverished by Turkana raid; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirisai); division, Kotido; clan, Lokwor (Longelep); J-70, J-85, J-112. An outstanding informant; despite his age, mentally and physically fit.
- 186 Madang: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotiang; clan, Lominit (Kakuloi); J-117; accompanied me to ekor ceremony in Kanawat.
- 187 Meron: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kanawat; clan, Longelep; J-43.



- 188 Meron: age, c. 80; one of the senior-most men of Kotido; a veteran of Lorian's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Kotido; clan, Lokatap (Naoyakitoi); J-64, J-127; a close neighbour; physically infirm and somewhat senile.
- 189 Modo: age, c. 50; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikokol); division, Rengen (Kadwoman); clan, Lokadali; J-25, J-32. Quite knowledgeable for a younger man; tended to dominate first interview.
- 190 Moronyang: age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Rengen (Kapelok); J-15.
- 191 Munyes: age, c. 70; a female informant; husband's division and clan, Kotido, Cedmeu; father's division and clan, Kotido, Loser; J-66; a near neighbour and frequent visitor to our home.
- 192 Munyes: age, c. 75; fought in Lorian's army at Loreapabong; served with KAR prior to Second World War; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Komukuny; clan, Loposa; J-94.
- 193 Muria (Longonyo): age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); clan, Thiokol; J-17; was very feeble and suffered from a bad cough at time of interview.
- 194 Naicam: age, c. 55; led the original settlers to Kaceri in 1953; still considered a leading man there; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Rengen (Caicaon); clan, Nayese; J-116.
- 195 Nakade (Peter): age, c. 85; former sub-county chief, Nakapelimoru, some knowledge of Kiswahili; a veteran of Lorian's army; family originally came from Dodos; his son, Robert Loporit, a parish chief of Panyangara, a personal friend; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngidewa); division, Nakapelimoru (Watakau); clan, Ngikalogwala; J-16, J-57, J-118. An outstanding informant; well known in much of Najie as an authority on oral history.
- 196 Nakothia: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Kotido; clan, Lokatap (?); J-7.
- 197 Nakwo: age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngisuguru); division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); clan, Lokore (of Thiokol); J-115.
- 198 Naluk: age, c. 80; cousin of the ekeworon, Lotum; one of the most senior men of the Jimos clan and considered the authority on the genealogy of the Fire-Makers; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngidewa); division, Losilang; J-79; very infirm at time of interview; he subsequently died in September, 1970.
- 199 Namuke: age, c. 75; a veteran of Lorian's army; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirisai); division, Komukuny; clan, Loposa; J-65; seemed rather withdrawn.
- 200 Namuya (Ngorok): age, c. 65; some knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngitakoi); division, Kotido; clan, Loperdu; J-105; interview somewhat disrupted by rain, but still a good one.
- 201 Narecom: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Kanawat; clan, Longelep; J-41.
- 202 Narima: age, c. 60; former parish chief of Lokadali; supposedly a direct descendant of Oding; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngirisai);



- 2 Ageng division, Rengen (Kadwoman); clan, Kapwor; J-32; clearly suspicious of me; efforts to arrange an additional interview with him failed. -5; very feeble and totally blind; a bit senile.
- 203 Ngorok (Ekone-Alokol): age, c. 60; former employee of Department of Agriculture; father of David Moding, Agricultural Assistant for Jie County and a personal friend; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Losilang; clan, Kalolet; J-77.
- 204 Nyanga (Locan): age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kanawat; clan, Teso (of Lokore); J-75.
- 205 Nyaramoe: age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotiang; clan, Ngadakori; J-37.
- 206 Reto: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimugeto; division, Rengen (Caicaon); J-20; a chaotic interview largely because the informants had been drinking heavily just before.
- 207 Riamakol: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngikosowa; division, Kotido; clan, Lokwor (Lokiding); J-45.
- 208 Surui (Apethiyer): age, c. 80; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Komukuny; clan, Lodera; J-72.
- 209 Tede (Teko): age, c. 85; a veteran of Lorian's army; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngisuguru); division, Panyangara (Kadokini); clan, Poot; J-9, J-24; rather feeble, almost totally blind and quite deaf; perhaps a bit senile, but still provided some valuable information.
- 210 Teko (Apalokoero): age, c. 60; former assistant parish chief of Lokadeli; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngitukoi); division, Rengen (Kapelok); J-21.
- 211 Teko: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngigwetei); division, Rengen (Caicaon); clan, Kimula; J-31.
- 212 Teko (Ekalam): age, c. 55; younger half-brother of Israel Lokong (see above); great-uncle of research assistant, Mario Longok; asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Kotido; clan, Loser (Mamukinei); J-76.
- 213 Tongokol: age, c. 65; local council member, 1940's; asapanu, Ngikosowa (Ngimoru); division, Nakapelimoru (Wotokau); J-24.
- 214 Wari: age, c. 55, asapanu, Ngimugeto (Ngikorio); division, Rengen (Lokatap); clan, Wotokau; J-95; quite knowledgeable for a younger man.

#### B.) Gazette of non-Jie Informants

#### DODOS

- 1 Adupa (Sampson): age, c. 60; bugler in KAR, 1930's (?); asapanu leader for Ngibaanga (probably for Ngikaato division); division, Lokaat; clan, Poot; D-12, present at D-11. An outstanding informant; knowledge of Kiswahili.



- 2 Agengimoe: age, c. 90; supposedly one of the senior-most men in Dodos; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngingatunyo); division, Lokaato; clan, Kasimeri; D-5; very feeble and totally blind; a bit senile.
- 3 Akure (Yosia "Tanta"): age, d. 75; converted by BCMS Mission; some Mission School education; a teacher "before Loyoro had its boma"; clerk in Kaabong boma, 1927; sub-county chief, Kaabong, and in Najie, 1927-58; good knowledge of Kiswahili; a leading and popular figure of the Kaabong area; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lomeris; D-2.
- 4 Akurun: age, c. 70; a sub-county chief under "Turna"; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngirengemone); division, Lomeris; clan, Rapanyang; D-13.
- 5 Alinga: age, c. 35; guard at Geological Camp, Loyoro; knowledge of Kiswahili; division, Lokaato; clan, Poot (Lomas); D-8.
- 6 Alinga: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngibaanga (Ngirionomong); division, Lokorikituk (Toroi); clan, Lokulek; D-13.
- 7 Amodoi: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lokaato; clan, Kasimeri; D-4.
- 8 Arikongimoe: age, c. 80; fought the Turkana under Lokuta; local askari under Lokuta and Lokuda; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lokaato; clan, Kasimeri; D-5.
- 9 Atebe: age, d. 70; asapanu, Ngitome; division, Lokaato; clan, Poot; D-11. A very good informant.
- 10 Dapala (Musa): age, c. 55; served in KAR, 1939-45; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngimerimong); division, Lokaato; clan, Poot (Cakalomun); D-6; knowledgeable for so young a man.
- 11 Ilukunyang: age, c. 65; local council member; some knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lokaato; clan, Kasimeri; D-4; rather dominated interview.
- 12 Kayo: age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lokaato; clan, Kothomongin (of Titi); D-1.
- 13 Lobong (Juma): age, c. 60; served in KAR, 1939-45; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngimerimong); division, Lokorikituk; clan, Kanayona; D-6.
- 14 Lodio (Matayo): age, c. 70; served in KAR, 1939-45; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lomeris; clan, Lokocil; D-6; tended to dominate interview; very strong personality.
- 15 Loiki: age, c. 75; served in KAR prior to Second World War; some knowledge of Kiswahili; parish chief, Kaabong, 1929; sub-county chief, Kaabong, 1930-46; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngigwete); division, Lomeris; clan, Perotyang; D-1.

AKIMOMONG

(BOKORA)

1 Abura: age, c. 45; sub-county chief, Lopei; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngitome; sub-division, Ngimerimong; D-5.



- 16 Lokapel: age, c. 50; former tax collector; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lokaato; clan, Kasimeri; D-4; junior informant of interview, contributed little.
- 17 Lokidap: age, c. 80; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngingatunyo); division, Lokaato; clan, Poot; D-10. A very good informant; one of the senior men of Kopos area; rather feeble, but mentally keen.
- 18 Lokoel (Musa): age, c. 70; duke-keeper near Loyoro; family of Pokot origin; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngitome (?) (Ngimoru); division, Lokorikituk; clan, Katek; D-9. A very good informant.
- 19 Lokol: age, c. 80; present at D-11; very feeble - had to withdraw during interview for a long rest.
- 20 Lomariamoe: age, c. 75; served in KAR prior to Second World War; family of Nyangea origin; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lomeris; clan, Nyangea; D-4.
- 21 Lomuge: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lokaato; clan, Kasimeri; D-5.
- 22 Longatunymoe (Kasimoto): age, c. 65; served in KAR, 1932-45; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lokorikituk (Toroi); clan, Lokai; D-7.
- 23 Lopul (Kipudungimoe): age, c. 80; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lomeris; clan, Rapanyang; D-1; seemed rather suspicious of me.
- 24 Lotiya: age, c. 55; served in KAR, 1939-59; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngimerimong); division, Lokorikituk (Toroi); clan, Lodeca; D-8.
- 25 Lotyanga: age, c. 70; parish chief, Loyoro, 1940's; D-2; seemed very suspicious; left before end of interview.
- 26 Loyarakori (Apalowak): age, c. 55; division, Lokorikituk; clan, Merima; D-3.
- 27 Meri (Adunia): age, c. 75; local askari, 1920's; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngimerimong); division, Lokorikituk (Toroi); clan, Lokulok; D-7.
- 28 Moding (Ritamoe): age, c. 70; local askari prior to 1920; MOW employee at Moroto, 1927-8; sub-county chief, Kaabong, 1930's; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lomeris; D-2, present at D-3.
- 29 Namano (Thiwok): age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lomeris; clan, Kadanya; D-1.
- 30 Ngole (Paulo): age, c. 70; teacher at Kitgum, 1926; MOW employee, Karamoja, early 1930's; resumed teaching, 1935-43; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngitome (Ngikamar); division, Lomeris; clan, Lokicar; D-3. A very good informant.

# KARIMOJONG

## (BOKORA)

- 1 Abra: age, c. 45; sub-county chief, Lopei; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngigate; sub-section, Merimong; BK-5.



- 2 Aleper: age, c. 60; asapamu, Ngimoru (Ngibaanga); sub-section, Ngoleriet; clan, Lokatap; BK-1.
- 3 Aleper (Petro): age, c. 55; served in local askaris prior to 1940; KAR 1940-46; saw action in Libya and Burma; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapamu, Ngigete; sub-section, Merimong; clan, Kelipa; BK-7, present at BK-5, BK-8, BK-9. An outstanding informant.
- 4 Amalem (Lokut): age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngicubai); sub-section, Ngoleriet; clan, Titimarano (Topojo); BK-3.
- 5 Angela: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngibaanga); sub-section, Merimong; clan, Ngorokomuk; BK-8.
- 6 Anyakun: age, c. 80; wounded at battle of Loreapabong; asapamu, Ngimoru (Ngicubai); sub-section, Merimong; clan, Kelipa; BK-4; very feeble and rather infirm.
- 7 Cero (Apanymuge): age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngicubai); sub-section, Merimong; clan, Katek; BK-4, present at BK-6, BK-7.
- 8 Dengel: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngicubai); sub-section, Merimong; clan, Titimorono; BK-5; contributed little.
- 9 Korobe: age, c. 65; asapamu, Ngimoru (Ngibaanga); sub-section, Ngoleriet; clan, Kariwok; BK-1.
- 10 Kotol: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngibaanga); clan, Titimarono (Kwei); BK-6, present at BK-7.
- 11 Lobanyang (Esero): age, c. 70; served in KAR, 1942-46; good knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngimoru; clan, Katek (Dongiro); BK-2. A very good informant.
- 12 Lomakol: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngicubai); sub-section, Ngoleriet; clan, Titimarono (Topojo); BK-3.
- 13 Longorio: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngibaanga); clan, Ngariama. A very good informant.
- 14 Loru (Enosi): age, c. 65; local council member; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapamu, Ngimoru (Ngibaanga); sub-section, Ngoleriet; clan, Lokatap; BK-1.
- 15 Nakong: age, c. 80; fought against the Jie armies under Lorian; fought the British at Akalale; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngicubai); sub-section, Merimong; clan, Ngorokomuk; BK-8. A very good informant; rather feeble, but mentally keen.

(MATHENIKO)

- 1 Emanikor: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimoru; clan, Locak; MTK-1; seemed rather suspicious.
- 2 Lodum: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimoru; clan, Lokatap; MTK-1; seemed rather suspicious.



- 3 Lokunoi: age, c. 70; former county chief, Matheniko; asapanu, Ngimoru; sub-section, Lomonja; clan, Nwee; MTK-2; quite feeble and a bit senile.
- 4 Lomongin (Apangikarenyak): age, c. 75; great-uncle of part-time research assistant, Philip Akol; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngibaanga); sub-section, Lotopan; clan, Katek; MTK-4; rather senile.
- 5 Lomonyang: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngibaanga); clan, Katek; MTK-3. A very good informant.
- 6 Lotipu: age, c. 75; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngibaanga); clan, Lokatap; MTK-3. A very good informant.
- 7 Ocom: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngibaanga); clan, Sigari; MTK-3. A very good informant.

(MOTHINGO)

- 1 Muya (Nawot): age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngigete; clan, Miiru; MTK-1.
- (TOME)
- 1 Balo (Arengimoe): age, c. 70; an ekpir akim (fire-maker) of the Kari-mojong; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngicubai); clan, Kadanya; TK-1.
- 2 Loram (Ecai): age, c. 65; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngicubai); clan, Kadanya; TK-1.

(LABWOR)

- 1 Angole: age, c. 60; division, Wiawer; clan, Kapwor; L-1.
- 2 Awok (Angelo): age, c. 75; a former blacksmith; division, Loyoroit; clan, Kalanga; L-6.
- 3 Kiyonga (Matayo): age, c. 60; parish chief, Atunga, 1940's and '50's; younger brother of Ongom (Justo - see below); division, Atunga; clan, Kanyon or Aparanyon; L-3. A very good informant.
- 4 Lojok: age, c. 60; a former blacksmith; division, Atunga; clan, Tiko; L-1; seemed rather suspicious.
- 5 Ocam (Marcello): age, c. 75; division, Morulem; clan, Katugo or Panya-tugu; L-5.
- 6 Ocan (Matayo): age, c. 60; division, Atunga; clan, Kagor or Paragot; L-2.
- 7 Oceng: age, c. 75; sub-county chief, Abim, 1920's - '40's; father of part-time research assistants, Milton Owok and John Ottoo; division, Kiiru; clan, Kajamo; L-4, L-5. A very good informant.



- 8 Oceng (Petro): age, c. 75; former employee of KDA office and Sergeant of local askaris; division, Loyorot; clan, Paranyon; L-7.
- 9 Odiyo (Saul): age, c. 75; MOW Inspector, Karamoja, 1930's - '40's; division, Kiiru; clan, Kajimo; L-4.
- 10 Ogira (Jebedayo): age, c. 75; MOW Headman, Karamoja; 1920's - '40's; division, Kiiru; clan, Kajimo; L-4. A very good informant.
- 11 Ogwang (John): age, c. 70; a former blacksmith; father of part-time research assistant, Paul Oyugi; division, Loyorot; clan, Kakec; L-8.
- 12 Ogwang (Wokorwo): age, c. 70; division, Loyorot; clan, Kadel; L-7.
- 13 Okec (Alipayo): age, c. 65; division, Atunga; clan, Kagot or Paragot; L-2.
- 14 Okec (Ruben): age, c. 55; MOW Headman, Karamoja, 1935-57; father of part-time research assistant Michael Ngorok; good knowledge of Kiswahili; division, Atunga; clan, Kagot or Paragot; L-1.
- 15 Okello (Abudoni): age, c. 60; division, Kiiru; clan, Kajimo; L-2.
- 16 Okello (Epui Weirono): age, c. 85; division, Morulem (Kgya); one of the most senior men of this part of Labwor; clan, Kakuku; L-9; extremely feeble; his power of speech was almost gone, but his mind appeared to be clear, and during the interview he listened carefully to the testimony of his nephew (Pidele Otyang - see below).
- 17 Okeo (Yonasan): age, c. 70; former government clerk, Labwor; family of Acoli origins; division, Loyorot; clan, Paidir; L-11. An outstanding informant; a personal friend of John Wilson, who recommended him to me; knowledge of Kiswahili.
- 18 Okidi (Simei): age, c. 45; division, Wiawer; clan, Kapwor; L-10. A very good informant; reputed to be one of best Kapwor informants, despite his relative youth.
- 19 Okong (Ominarek): age, c. 65; division, Loyorot; clan, Paibwor; L-8; was rather ill on day of interview.
- 20 Omara (Peter): age, c. 55; a former blacksmith; division, Atunga; clan, Kagot or Paragot; L-2.
- 21 Ongom (Justo): age, c. 75; Roman Catholic church teacher, 1940's - '65; division, Atunga; clan, Kanyon or Aparanyon; L-3. A very good informant.
- 22 Opio (Eria): age, c. 65; younger brother of Okeo (Yonasan - see below); division, Loyorot; clan, Paidir; L-11. A very good informant.
- 23 Orebo (Alipinco): age, c. 30; division, Awac; clan, Kaceer; L-5.
- 24 Otyang (Pidele): age, c. 40; knowledge of Kiswahili; grand-nephew of Okello (Epui Weirono - see above); division, Morulem; clan, Panyamenya; L-9. An outstanding informant, especially for so young a man; was coached somewhat during interview by his great-uncle.
- 25 Owili: age, c. 30; present at L-2; probably Kiira division.



MARILLE

- 1 Ewoton: age, c. 50; had Marille father and Turkana mother; had spent some years in Turkana; clan, Lodoca; MAR-1 (Loarengak). Translated testimonies of other two informants, who could speak no Aturkana.
- 2 Kulani: age, c. 20; present at MAR-1 (Loarengak).
- 3 Walamoe: age, c. 35; present at MAR-1 (Loarengak).

NYAKWAI

- 1 Adiaka: age, c. 80; a rain-maker and fire-maker; the senior elder (Adwong Kajimo) of the Kajimo clan; asapanu, Ngimoru; division, Rogom; clan, Kajimo; NY-2. A very good informant.
- 2 Adiako (Cesere): age, c. 50; NOW Headman; son of Adiaka, above; good knowledge of Kiswahili; division, Rogom; clan, Kajimo; NY-2. A very good informant.
- 3 Onak (John): age, c. 70; knowledge of Kiswahili; division, probably Rogom; clan, Tengor; NY-1. A very good informant; dominated interview; this informant and the others of NY-1 were all refugees from Turkana raids, living temporarily in Labwor.
- 4 Ogtra (Apalolem): age, c. 80; division, probably Popongo; clan, Eparadup; NY-1; contributed little.
- 5 Ongom (Loyerakwang): age, c. 55; division, probably Popongo; clan, Eparadup; NY-1; contributed little.

TURKANA

Because Turkana sections tend to be so scattered, the location at which informants were interviewed is also included in brackets. Most of those at Kataboi and Loarengak were famine refugees, originally from Western Turkana, now fishing at the Lake.

(Unfortunately, the approximate ages of some informants were not recorded, but in all cases these were older men.)

- 1 Akeno: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngirisai; division, Ngimonia (Ngisir); clan, Puco; T-16 (Lorugumu); informants were sure I was a priest - not a good interview.
- 2 Akwawi: asapanu, Ngirisai; clan, Loponga; T-7 (Kakuma).
- 3 Alany: age, c. 60; present at T-15 (Kotaboi).
- 4 Amodoi: age, c. 40; chief of Kakuma area; knowledge of Kiswahili; division, Ngimonia; clan, Puco; T-1 (Kakuma).
- 5 Apeot: asapanu, Ngirisai; division, Ngimonia; clan, Siger; T-4 (Kakuma).
- 6 Arunyang: asapanu, Ngirisai (Ngikwangai); division, Ngicuro (Lukumong); T-5 (Kakuma).



- 7 Ekai: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngirisai; division, Ngimonia (Ngisir); clan, Meturana; T-16 (Lorugumu).
- 8 Ekai: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimoru; division, Ngimonia (Ngisiger); clan, Komesoroko; T-10 (Loarengak).
- 9 Elalale: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngimoru; clan, Ngolerot; T-9 (Makutano).
- 10 Ekale: age, c. 70; one of the most senior elders in the Kotaboi area; asapanu, Ngirisai; division, Ngicuro; clan, Teso; T-13, present at T-14. (Kotaboi) A very good informant.
- 11 Ekuton: age, c. 50; very suspicious; knowledge of Kiswahili; division, Ngimonia (Ngisiger); clan, Loponga; T-11 (Loarengak).
- 12 Ekuton: age, c. 75; division, Ngimonia; clan, Siger; T-15 (Kotaboi); originally from Kakuma area.
- 13 Ekwamor: age, c. 40; asapanu, Ngimoru; clan, Fucco; T-9 (Makutano).
- 14 Elupe: age, c. 50; clerk in Divisional Headquarters, Lokitaung; knowledge of Kiswahili; division, Ngimonia (Ngisiger); clan, Komesoroko; T-12 (Lokitaung).
- 15 Eothio: asapanu, Ngirisai (Ngitome); division, Ngimonia; clan, Siger; T-4 (Kakuma).
- 16 Eregai: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngirionomong); division, Ngicuro (Ngioyakwa); clan, Katek; T-18 (Ngipurkala).
- 17 Eregai: asapanu, Ngirisai; clan, Loponga; T-7 (Kakuma).
- 18 Eremon: age, c. 65; asapanu, Ngirisai (Ngiwaria); division, Ngimonia; clan, Tarapakolong; T-3 (Kakuma).
- 19 Eri: age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngimoru; division, Ngicuro (Ngikamatak); clan, Kalolet; T-18 (Ngipurkala).
- 20 Esiokon: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngimoru (Ngingolemongin); clan, Loponga; T-2 (Kakuma); totally blind and rather feeble; had been a famine refugee at Lake until recently.
- 21 Etele: asapanu, Ngirisai; clan, Loponga; T-7 (Kakuma).
- 22 Ikaru: asapanu, Ngirisai (Ngikwangai); division, Ngimonia (Nginyangatak); T-5 (Kakuma); tended to dominate interview; interview partly spoiled by large, noisy crowd which gathered.
- 23 Kamar: age, c. 55; headman of fishing group and Loarengak co-operative; had previously lived in Ferguson's Gulf and Kakuma areas; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngirisai; division, Ngimonia (Ngisiger); clan, Lodoca; T-10 (Loarengak); tended to dominate interview; Jie interpreter had some trouble with the Loarengak Turkana dialect.
- 24 Kinyang: age, c. 60; asapanu, Ngirisai; division, Ngicuro (Ngikamatak); clan, Lokatap; T-17 (Lorugumu).
- 25 Lemkol: age, c. 75; division, Ngicuro; clan, Teso; T-15 (Kotaboi); originally from Kakuma area.



- 26 **Locebei:** age, c. 55; government chief of the Lokirama area; asapanu, Ngirisai; division, Ngicuro; clan, Kuruk; T-18 (Ngipurkala).
- 27 **Logum:** asapanu, Ngirisai (Ngitome); clan, Loponga; T-4 (Kakuma).
- 28 **Loito:** age, c. 55; former local askari, Loya; asapanu, Ngimoru; division, Ngicuro (Ngikamatak); clan, Ngoleroto; T-20 (Loya).
- 29 **Lokadelio:** age, c. 80; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngirisai (Nginyangakipwor); clan, Lopuco; T-2 (Kakuma).
- 30 **Lokimuk:** age, c. 80; the senior-most man of the Kotaboi area; supposedly descended from Angirokol, one of original (Ngimonia) settlers; well-known throughout wide area as an authority on oral tradition; asapanu, Ngirisai (Ngiputiro); clan, Swalika; T-14, present at T-13 (Kotaboi). An outstanding informant; blind and rather frail, but mentally alert; originally from western Turkana (Kakuma area).
- 31 **Lokuluka:** asapanu, Ngirisai (Ngiwaria); clan, Loponga; T-3 (Kakuma); son of a well-known diviner of Kakuma area.
- 32 **Lokunoi:** age, c. 25; askari at Catholic Mission, Kakuma; clan, Lodoca; present at T-6 (Kakuma).
- 33 **Lokuu:** asapanu, Ngimoru; clan, Ngikorio (?); T-4 (Kakuma).
- 34 **Lomanat:** asapanu, Ngirisai; clan, Kaleso; T-8 (Kakuma).
- 35 **Lomoru:** asapanu, Ngirisai; clan, Lopuco; T-8 (Kakuma).
- 36 **Lomorukai (Isaac):** age, c. 50; local council member; spent several years in Karamoja; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngingolamongin; division, Ngimonia (Ngisir); clan, Loduya; T-17 (Lorugumu). A very good informant.
- 37 **Lomothingo:** asapanu, Ngirisai (Ngiwaria); clan, Loduya; T-3 (Kakuma); rather dominated interview.
- 38 **Loodunga:** age, c. 70; clan, Lopuco; T-6 (Kakuma).
- 39 **Lopokori:** asapanu, Ngirisai (Ngiwaria); clan, Meturana; T-3 (Kakuma).
- 40 **Lopwa:** age, c. 65; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngimoru; division, Ngimonia (Ngisiger); clan, Swalika; T-10 (Loarengak).
- 41 **Loter:** age, c. 55; asapanu, Ngirisai; clan, Loponga; T-13 (Kotaboi); contributed little.
- 42 **Lowasa:** age, c. 40; clan, Lodoca; present at T-6 (Kakuma).
- 43 **Mana:** age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngiyangakipor; division, Ngicuro (Ngikamatak); clan, Lobal; T-18 (Ngipurkala). A very good informant; became very tired at end of interview.
- 44 **Menyan:** age, c. 60; knowledge of Kiswahili; division, Ngimonia (Ngisiger); clan, Loponga; T-11 (Loarengak); very suspicious.



- 45 Meri: asapanu, Ngirisai; clan, Swalika; T-8 (Kakuma). Jie. From Ngikalogwala clan, Makapellimura territorial division. Son of Leong Natwanga.
- 46 Munyen: age, c. 50; asapanu, Ngirisai; clan, Ngolerot; T-13 (Kotaboi); some inter-tribe famine refugee from Kakuma area. He speaks some years in Labwor and knows that dialect well, and so also helped with translations of some Labwor tapes.
- 47 Mutnuluk: age, c. 70; clan, Loponga; T-6 (Kakuma).
- JOHN PHILIP - Age, about 20. Seven years of primary school education in Kotido.
- 48 Nangol: age, c. 55; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngirisai; division, during early Ngicuro (Ngikamatak); clan, Ngolerot; T-20 (Loya).
- 49 Nawoto: age, c. 70; asapanu, Ngirisai; division, Ngimonia (Ngibocoros); Jimos clan, Siger; T-19 (Lorugumu). An outstanding informant. Helped to make contacts with members of asapanu family and arranged J-33.
- 50 Pelekec: asapanu, Ngirisai; clan, Loponga; T-7 (Kakuma); tended to dominate interview. Primary education; very little English, but some Kiswahili. From Labwor clan of Kotido. Initiated into first group of Ngitome, 1963. Helped make contacts in Kotiang and Kotido territorial divisions. Arranged J-38 and J-39. Took an active role in my own initiation.
- (NGI)YAN
- PETER LODUNGO - Age, about 20. Completed seven years primary schooling.
- 1 Lokidi (Antonio): age, c. 60; knowledge of Kiswahili; asapanu, Ngirisai (Ngimongin); clan, Magos (Kamuria); Y-1. Several Labwor tapes.

#### Part-Time Non-Jie Assistants

##### C.) Research Assistants

##### Full-Time Jie Assistants

JAMES LODUNGO - Age, about 30; Kanawat territorial division; had been initiated as part of first group of Ngitome initiates, 1963. His maternal uncle, Erisa Longok (informant of J-1, J-86), a former County Chief of Jie. Completed four years of secondary school, Moroto High School, 1964-8. Research assistant from November, 1969 to February, 1970. Left my employment for career with Uganda Police.

ERNEST KIROBE - Age, about 23. Four years at Moroto High School, 1964-8. Very good English. From Komukuny territorial division. Father killed during Karimojong raid in 1950's, and Ernest was raised by his maternal great-uncle, Iothike Elawa (informant of J-29 and J-131) of Panyangara. Research assistant from February, 1970 - June, 1970; January, 1971 - February, 1971. Left my employment temporarily to train as a health assistant.

MARIO LONGOK - Age, about 20. One year secondary schooling in Kampala. Much better English than his formal education might indicate. Son of Nameu, former County Chief of Jie who saw long service under Colonial Administration. Father died when Mario was still very young; raised by his maternal great-uncle, Teko Ekalam (informant of J-76) of Loser clan of Kotido. Research Assistant from June, 1970 - February, 1971. Mother now resident in Labwor, and so helped make some contacts there.

Part-Time Jie Assistants

PETER LOKIRU - age, about 25. Initiated into first group of Ngitome, 1963. Four years secondary school, Moroto High School, 1964-8. A very popular young man throughout Jie and Labwor counties. Has strong political aspirations.



Was training as prisons officer during part of my stay in Najie. From Ngikalogwala clan, Nakapelimoru territorial division. Son of Loceng Natwanga (informant of J-16, J-83). Helped arrange interviews J-16 to J-22, and did some interpreting and translation. Had lived some years in Labwor and knows that dialect well, and so also helped with translations of some Labwor tapes.

JOHN PEIKAN - Age, about 20. Seven years of primary school education in Kotido. From Rengen moiety. Helped to make contacts and arrange interviews in Rengen during early part of 1970.

MICHAEL LODIO - Age, about 23. Third year student at Moroto High School. From Jimos clan of Losilang. Grandson of Lotum, the last Jimos ekeworon. Helped to make contacts with members of ekeworon family and arranged J-53.

MODING - Age, about 30. Some primary education; very little English, but some Kiswahili. From Lokwor clan of Kotido. Initiated into first group of Ngitome, 1963. Helped make contacts in Kotiang and Kotido territorial divisions. Arranged J-38 and J-39. Took an active role in my own initiation.

PETER LOPADING - Age, about 20. Completed seven years primary schooling. Although a Jie, has lived much of life in Labwor with his mother and so has good knowledge of that dialect. Helped translate several Labwor tapes.

#### Part-Time Non-Jie Assistants

MICHAEL NGOROK - Age, about 20. Fourth year secondary school student in Kampala. A Labwor from the Jo-Kagot clan. Son of Ruben Okec (informant of L-1). Had helped Professor Webster of Makerere to gather historical information in Karamoja prior to my arrival in Uganda. Interpreter for Labwor interviews L-1 and L-3. Observed several Jie interviews late in 1969 and early in 1970.

JOHN OTTOO - Age, about 25. Finished eight years primary schooling; working as health assistant in Southern Karamoja during my stay in Najie. A Labwor of the Jo-Kajimo clan. Son of Oceng (informant of L-4 and L-5). Interpreter for L-4.

MILTON OMOK - Age, about 23. Third year student at Moroto High School. Younger brother of John Ottoo, above. Interpreter for L-4, 5, 6 and NY-1.

PAULINO OYNGI - Age, about 23. Second year student at Moroto High School. A Labwor from J-Kakec clan. Son of John Ogwang (informant of L-8). Interpreter for L-7 to L-11, and NY-2.

PHILIP AKOL - Age, about 23. Completed four years secondary school, Moroto High School. A Matheniko Karimjong; clan, Katek. Grand-nephew of Lomongin (informant of MTK-4). Arranged a number of Karimjong interviews, and helped with several Jie and Turkana interviews. Interpreter for MOK-1, MTK-4, TK-1, and T-19.

GABRAEL S/O SAMPSON - Age, about 20. A Dodos from the Poot clan. Student at Moroto Teachers' College. Helped with Dodos interviews, especially in Kopos area. Son of Sampson Adupa (informant of D-12).

LARGO LOMURIA - Age, about 20. An Eyan. A student at Moroto Teachers' College. Served as guide in Mt. Orom area and helped make contact with Ngieyan informants.

## APPENDIX 2

NUMBERS OF JIE INFORMANTS FROM THE VARIOUS TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS  
AND CLANS

## I Lokorwakol (166 informants)

## A. Kotiang territorial division (21 informants)

Kaekar	-	3
Kulak	-	3
Toroi (of Kadukan)	-	3
Kadukan	-	2
Lokwor	-	2
Loonei or Remokwori	-	2
Kalooi (of Lopongo)	-	1
Lominit	-	1
Loponyo	-	1
Ngadakori	-	1
Toroi (of Kanawat)	-	1
Unspecified clans	-	2

## B. Losilang territorial division (14 informants)

Jimos	-	7
Kalolet (of Jimos)	-	4
Lokatap	-	1
Poet	-	1
Toroi	-	1

## C. Kanawat territorial division (25 informants)

Ngikeinyak or Longelep	11
Tesiyo (of Lokore)	- 4
Lokore	- 2
Meriwala (of Toroi)	- 2
Nyakwai	- 2
Lokatap	- 1
Natelo (of Panyangara)	1
Tesiyo (of Longelep)	- 1
Unspecified clans	- 1

## D. Komukuny territorial division (12 informants)

Loposa	- 9
Lodera	- 3

NOTE: Reference should be made to Fig. 1, Chapter II, for the complete list of constituent clans of the various territorial divisions.

Most informants who did not specify clans were seen very early in my research in the larger group interviews.



## E. Kotido territorial division (36 informants)

Lokatap	- 2	9
Lokwor	- 2	8
Loser	- 2	7
Cedmau	- 1	4
Lokocil	- 1	3
Loperdu	- 1	2
Losogot	- 1	2
Poet (of Losogot)	- 2	1

## F. Panyangara territorial division (32 informants)

Lokore or Kapuyon division (7 informants)	-	5
Kapwer	- 2	4
Kadokini (group of clans)	- 1	3
Lodoca	- 1	2
Lojon (of Lodoca)	- 1	2
Ngikaloding (of Sinotoi)	-	2
Poet	-	2
Ila	-	1
Jimos	-	1
Lomakura (of Lodoca)	- 2	1
Natelo	- 1	1
Rikitai (group of clans)	- 1	1
Unspecified clans	- 2	6

## G. Nakapelimoru territorial division (26 informants)

Kareu (of Kadoca)	-	3
Thiokol (group of clans)	-	3
Kalobur	-	2
Ngikalogwala	-	2
Cakalomun	-	1
Jimos	-	1
Kairwata	-	1
Kelokori	-	1
Kareu (of Wotokau)	-	1
Lokocil (of Potonger)	-	1
Lokore (of Thiokol)	-	1
Longelep	-	1
Lopao	-	1
Lorui	-	1
Ngerepo (group of clans)	-	1
Ngikalogwang	-	1
Nyakwai	-	1
Oyakwara (of Kalobur)	-	1
Poet	-	1
Wotokau (sub-territory)	-	1

## II Mengen (38 informants) - 4 of unspecified divisions

## A. Lokatap territorial division (12 informants)

Kalolet	-	2
Orom	-	2
Wotokau	-	2
Poet	-	1
Unspecified clans	-	5

## B. Kadwoma territorial division (12 informants)

Cilapus	-	2
Lokadeli	-	2
Lomajan	-	2
Gelangole	-	1
Kapwor	-	1
Lobore	-	1
Nariwo	-	1
Unspecified clans	-	2

## C. Kapelok territorial division (7 informants)

Ladoket	-	2
Loperdu	-	1
Ngikalopetum	-	1
Unspecified clans	-	3

## D. Caicaon territorial division (7 informants)

Kimula	-	2
Koumunyen	-	1
Nayese	-	1
Unspecified clans	-	3



APPENDIX 3Original AreaLocation of  
Dispersed BranchesJIE DISPERSED CLANS AND CLANS WITH SHARED NAMES

11. Longelap or (?) Kanawat  
Longerep

a) Potonger, Nakapelimoru  
b) Lokokorok, Nakapelimoru  
c) Kotido ("longelap",  
sub-group of Lokwor)

I. Dispersed Clans

(Note: In some cases it is difficult to be certain of the original area of a dispersed clan, either because there are conflicting traditions, or because no satisfactory tradition was collected during my research. In such cases, the probable original area is noted, preceded by a question mark.)

14. Nayevo (?) Losilang

Clan Original Area

Locations of  
Dispersed Branches

15. Jimos  
1. Jimos Losilang

a) Kanawat (2 sub-branches)  
a) Komukuny  
b) Nakapelimoru  
c) Panyangara

2. Kalobur Lokokorok, Nakapelimoru

a) Kadoca, Nakapelimoru

3. Karewok or ?  
Kathiwok

a) Kadoca, Nakapelimoru  
b) Wotokau, Nakapelimoru  
c) Losilang  
d) Caicaon (Rengen)

4. Kimula (?) Caicaon (Rengen)

a) Lokotap (Rengen)  
b) Panyangara

5. Ladoket Formerly their own division

a) Kapelok (Rengen)  
b) Lokatap (Rengen)

6. Lodera Kotido

a) Losilang  
b) Komukuny

7. Lokatap (?) Kotido (?) Rengen

a) Kanawat

8. Lokocil Kotido

a) Kadoca, Nakapelimoru  
b) Potonger, Nakapelimoru  
c) (?) Panyangara

9. Lokore (Ngikakere) Kanawat

a) Kotido  
a) Kadoca, Nakapelimoru  
b) Potonger, Nakapelimoru  
c) Panyangara

10. Lokwor Kotilang

a) Nakapelimoru  
a) Kotido (Lower sub-clan)

5. Nyakwai Nyakwai

a) Kanawat  
b) Kotido (Lokatap sub-group)  
c) Lokokorok, Nakapelimoru  
d) Wotokau, Nakapelimoru  
e) Panyangara (11a sub-clan)

<u>Clan</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u> <u>Original Area</u>	<u>Location of</u> <u>Dispersed Branches</u>
6. Post		
11. Longelep or Longerep	(?) Kanawat	a) Potongor, Nakapelimoru b) Lokokorok, Nakapelimoru c) Kotido ("Longelel", sub-group of Lokwor)
12. Loperdu	(?) Kotido	a) Panyangara b) Kapelok (Rengen)
7. Tesiye		
13. Natelo	Panangara	a) Kanawat
14. Nayese	(?) Losilang	a) Kanawat b) Caicaon (Rengen) c) Kapelok (Rengen)
B. <u>Accidentally shared names.</u> These included Ngimalepe, found in Panyangara and Losilang, two totally unrelated groups whose names were without a common origin, and Ngikalebet, found in Lokatap (Rengen), whose name was derived because they lived in a forest.		
15. Toroi	Kotiang	a) Kanawat (2 sub-branches) b) Losilang c) Kotiang (sub-branch returned from Kanawat)

## II. Clans with Shared Names

- A. Clans of Alien Origin Assimilated by the Jie, mainly in the Nineteenth Century. (In such cases, clans take their name from their former tribal area, or some divisions of that area. In most cases, the various clans sharing one name in Najib consider themselves only vaguely related, and in some cases, not related at all.)

		<u>Locations In Najie</u>
1. Kapwor	Acholi	a) Panyangara b) (?) Kadwoman (Rengen)
2. Lokatap	Labwor (? or Acholi)	a) Losilang (shares same name as other "Lokatap" clans, see above.)
3. Lopongo	Nyakwai	a) Kotiang b) Panyangara (Ila sub-clan)
4. Magos	Magos Karimojong	a) Nakapelimoru b) Kotido (Loser sub-clan)
5. Nyakwai	Nyakwai	a) Kanawat b) Kotido (Lokatap sub-group) c) Lokokorok, Nakapelimoru d) Wotokau, Nakapelimoru e) Panyangara (Ila sub-clan)



ClanPlace of OriginLocations in Najie

6. Poet Post a) Kotido  
b) Losilang  
c) Nakapelimoru  
d) Panyangara  
e) Lokatap (Rengen)
7. Tesiyo lteso a) Longelep, Kanawat  
b) Lokore, Kanawat  
c) Kapelok, (Rengen)
- B. Accidentally shared names. These included Ngimamulope, found in Panyangara and Losilang, two totally unrelated groups whose names mean "Those without a leader", and Ngikalolet, found in Losilang and Lokatap (Rengen), whose names were derived because they live near a salt-lick (elet).

## APPENDIX 4

Turkana system has broken down 11. and a day that it

is now common to find Ngimoru initiating ceremony with several

### THE INTERVALS BETWEEN GENERATION - SETS IN NON-JIE SOCIETIES

Ngirisai, who would be considered their classificatory sons. He

also It has been argued in Chapter II of this thesis that there are approximately 40 years between the beginning of the initiations of one generation-set (asapanu) and the beginning of the initiations of the following one. It is further suggested that this approximate 40-year interval between generation-sets is not unique to the Jie, but is also a feature of the asapanu-systems of other non-Jie, Central and ParaNilotic peoples. In this appendix, evidence concerning the asapanu-systems of the Turkana and Karimojong is presented to show that in both cases a 40-year interval like that encountered in the Jie system is indicated. The various parts of this area are difficult to

the extreme. It can be suggested, therefore, that because of these

#### A. THE TURKANA

poor communication the Turkana found it virtually impossible to (Reference should be made to Figure 5, Chapter IV, and to the following effect the necessary co-operation in securing a common time-scale for ing reconstruction of the last five Turkana generation-sets).

the generation-sets following Ngiputiro (whose "real" name was probably

The five most recent generation sets: to these sets by their alternating

"real" names 1) Ngiputiro c.1800 respectively. In the same way,

2) Ngimoru I c.1840

the interval 3) Ngirisai II c.1880 for regulating the open of a

4) Ngimoru II c.1920

generation 5) Ngirisai III recently formed been impossible after

the Ngiputiro expedition, which led to the concerted initiations of two

The Turkana system presents rather special problems not encountered within the systems of the Jie or Karimojong (or probably the Dodos). In other words, the "over-lap" period, which invariably takes place when one generation-set brings

The last four Turkana generation-sets do not appear to have been known

the initiations to an end and the following generation-set begins its

by "nick-names", but solely by their alternating "real" names, Ngirisai

own initiations (see Chapter II), appears to have been greatly ex-

and Ngimoru. As P.H. Gulliver has noted ("Turkana Age Organization",



tended in the case of the Turkana, so that in practice the generation-sets are both "open" and initiating concurrently over a considerable period of time. is now common to find Ngimoru initiating concurrently with coeval Ngirisai, who should be considered their classificatory sons. He also notes (*Ibid.*, p.920) that the Ngiputiro were probably the fathers of the first of these two groups of Ngimoru, which was strongly supported by my Turkana informants. As those informants also indicated that Ngiputiro was the asapanu which was mainly responsible for a great expansion which led to the occupation of most of the area now inhabited by the Turkana, it can further be suggested that it was largely that expansion which caused the break-down of the Turkana system. Given the size, sparse population and harsh geography of the area occupied by the Turkana, it can readily be understood that communications between the various parts of this area are difficult to the extreme. It can be suggested, therefore, that because of these poor communications, the Turkana found it virtually impossible to effect the necessary co-operation in choosing a common nick-name for the generation-sets following Ngiputiro (whose "real" name was probably Ngirisai), and so generally referred to those sets by their alternating "real" names, Ngirisai and Ngimoru, respectively. In the same way, the intra-tribal co-operation necessary for regulating the span of a generation-set's initiations also seems to have been impossible after the Ngiputiro expansion, which led to the concurrent initiations of two generations, as Gulliver describes. In other words, the "over-lap" period, which invariably takes place when one generation-set brings its initiations to an end and the following generation-set begins its own initiations (see Chapter II), appears to have been greatly ex-

tended in the case of the Turkana, so that in practice two generation-sets are both "open" and initiating concurrently over a considerable period of time.

recently formed at the time of his visit. My Turkana informants

Despite these complications, there are indications that an approximate 40-year span between generation-sets was traditionally a feature of the Turkana system. If, for the moment, such a 40-year interval can be supposed to have existed amongst the Turkana, then by going back three generation-sets, Ngimoru II would have begun initiations about 1840 (see reconstruction above). As the Turkana, like the Jie, consider the "proper age" of initiation to be about 20 years of age, the first initiates of Ngimoru I would have been born by at least 1820. In 1920, Lt. D.M. Mulley, an officer of the K.A.R., made detailed notes on the Turkana asapanu-system as it existed at that time. (His report, "Notes on the Turkana" can be found in LA-4325, Part II). According to Mulley, two generation-sets, "Ngimurr" (corresponding to my Ngimoru I), and "Ngorothai" (corresponding to my Ngirisai I) were in existence. If my calculations (based on the suggested 40-year intervals) are correct, the senior members of Ngimoru II, then in about 1820 as I have suggested, could hardly have been living in 1920 during Mulley's visit. Indeed, Mulley noted that the first five constituent age-sets of "Ngimurr" had died out, and that the few survivors of this sixth age-set were very aged men about 85 years old. By my reckonings, the men of this sixth age-set would have been born about 1840 (and initiated about 1860), corresponding almost exactly, then, with Mulley's information.

died out, and the oldest surviving Ngirisai are those from the middle

age-sets of the asapanu. If again one can accept, for the moment,



Hulley also indicated that an age-set called "Nbellakwara", composed of young men between the ages of 20 and 30, was the most recently formed at the time of his visit. My Turkana informants listed Ngikapelikwara as one of the first age-sets of Ngimoru II.

By my reckonings, Ngimoru II would have commenced their initiations about 1920 (see above reconstruction), again corresponding closely to Hulley's report. Another early observer, J. Barton, in 1921 indicated that the most recently initiated youths were a group called "Ng'inamoru" ("Notes on the Turkana Tribe of British East Africa" (Part II), JAS. XX, 1921, p.209). As no Turkana informant ever mentioned a name which corresponded exactly to "Ng'inamoru", one must conclude that Barton meant "Ngimoru (II)", again indicating that the initiations of this generation-set were underway by about 1920, as my calculations have suggested.

The early European observers unfortunately provided no specific indications as to when Ngirisai III, the generation-set between Ngimoru I and Ngimoru II, may have begun its initiations. Hulley lists the asapanu with eight of its age-sets, but gives no indication of the ages of its members, and Barton lists "Ng'irisai" as a group roughly mid-way between the oldest-survivors of Ngimoru II and the most recent initiates of "Ng'inamoru" (Ngimoru II). During my own research, only a limited number of aged Ngirisai III were encountered, all of them belonging to the more junior age-sets. According to my Turkana informants, at least the first five Ngirisai I age-sets have died out, and the oldest surviving Ngirisai are those from the middle age-sets of the asapanu. If again one can accept, for the moment,

my estimates of 1840 and 1920 for the beginnings of Ngimoru II and II, respectively, then Ngirisai I would have begun in about 1880. The middle age-sets of Ngirisai I would, therefore, have been initiated about 1900, and born about 1880, again very much in line with the fact that they are the oldest living Turkana.

Information from the Karoko Archives (since destroyed), states (p. 191)

that "It would seem then, that there was a 40 year span between each of the last four Turkana generation-sets, even despite the serious

break-down of the system. Working backwards from Ngimoru I, another

40 year span would indicate that their "fathers", Ngiputiro, began

their initiations in about 1800. As mentioned above, Ngiputiro is

the asapanu remembered in Turkana tradition to have effected the con-

quest of most of the present Turkana area. By my reckonings, then,

that conquest must have taken place mainly between the years 1800-

1840. As already noted in Chapter VI (p. 362) of this thesis, both

early European observers and the traditions of peoples affected by

the Turkana conquest indicate that that conquest took place during

precisely the same period I have estimated for the Ngiputiro. There-

fore, a 40 year interval between at least each of the last five

Turkana generation-sets can reasonably be concluded to have existed.

beginning of the next generation, therefore, exactly as shown-

B. THE KARIMOJONG arrived at his estimate of a "twenty-five to

(reference should be made to Figure 5, Chapter IV).

generation-sets.

I am acquainted with no primary documentary sources which

specifically indicate when any but the most recent Karimojong generation-

set, Ngigete, came into existence. ~~considering this generation-set,~~

~~there seems to be disagreement between two contemporary sources.~~



## APPENDIX 5

~~Dyson-Hudson (op.cit., p.197) states that Ngigete opened in 1895, and  
but his Clark (1970, op.cit., p.215) indicates that they were already~~

~~in existence by 1895. The references are to Uganda survey maps,  
1:50,000 scale. The latitudinal and longitudinal  
references from the individual sheets are given.~~

Be this as it may, Dyson-Hudson, presumably having derived his information from the Moroto Archives (since destroyed), states (p.191) that the preceding generation-set, Ngimoru, came into existence "at the close of the last century". If one can assume that a date in the mid-1890's would be "the close of the last century", then an interval of between 50-60 years must have elapsed between the beginning of Ngimoru and the beginning of Ngigete initiations. Dyson-Hudson, however, explains (p.197) that this extraordinarily long period was due to Government restrictions on the movement of cattle and bad natural conditions which, from 1939, prevented the opening of Ngigete until some date in the 1950's. Dyson-Hudson notes that the opening of Ngigete should have taken place "by the late 1930's". If we can assume that the Ngimoru began initiating in 1895 and that the Ngigete should have begun in 1938, then Dyson-Hudson clearly seems to be indicating that for the Karimojong a span on the order of 43 years was considered "normal" between the beginning of one asaganu and the beginning of the next. One wonders, therefore, exactly how Dyson-Hudson should have arrived at his estimate of a "twenty-five to thirty year period" (for example, p. 156) for the interval between generation-sets.

3. Kalobur (Kilobur) is a rock-outcropping with a number of isolated rock formations. The large rock-outcropping is pitted with a great number of natural cisterns (asur) from which the name "Kalobur" is derived. Some of the cisterns are of considerable depth and next to some are rock shelves on which pot-shards and microliths can be



## APPENDIX 5

## NOTES ON SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL KARAMOJA

NOTE: All the map references are to Uganda survey maps, 1:50,000 scale. The latitudinal and longitudinal references from the individual sheets are given. In many cases, these references are only approximate.

The stone "ubao-boards" (called ngikiles in Ajie) are all of a four row variety and usually contain 10-14 holes per line.

1. Jimos (large mound formed by previous habitation just south of present village). A number of deep-basin grinding stones. A great many pot sherds washing out especially in drainage ditch next to road. Some deep-grooved sherds. The site is located just north of the Roman Catholic Mission, Losilang (Jie). Map ref: sheet 18/3: 38,81. A ubao-board game is cut into a rock just west of the road across from the Jimos village. Great care should be taken in investigating this site as the Jimos are the ritual fire-makers of the Jie, and their land is considered in some ways sacred. Other, less imposing, mounds can be found in Kanawat (approx. Map ref: sheet 26/1: 31,20) and at Loser in Kötido, just behind the police post (Map ref: sheet 18/3: 34,79). All these sites visited many times during 1970-early 1971. Jimos site investigated with Hamo Sassoön.
2. Kadokwei (site of late nineteenth century, early twentieth century, Ngikuliak village). Home of Ngikuliak band driven from Maru in late nineteenth century. Great deal of iron-ware: blades, iron beads, etc. No signs of slag or smelting. Great deal of broken pottery - thick rouletted and "imprinted" designs. Site is located on south bank of Kadokwei river near an isolated tree. Guides who know of the site can be found at Caicaon Village, Rengen (Jie). (approx. Map ref: sheet 18/3: 38, 73) Visited 26/2/70.
3. Kalobur (large flat rock-outcroppings with a number of isolated rock shelters). The large rock-outcropping is pitted with a great number of natural cisterns (abur) from which the name "Kalobur" is derived. Some of the cisterns are of considerable depth and next to some are rock shelters in which pot-sherds and microliths can be



found. Other pot-sherds and microliths can be found washing out of the isolated rock-shelters just west of Kalobur. There are two stone circles between two of the isolated rock-outcroppings. Hamo Sassoon discovered rock paintings (a set of concentric circles, and possibly an animal in dark red) on the westernmost out-crop in Dec. 1970. John Wilson discovered a further set (three very well done animals, probably cattle or sheep; also in dark (red) on another out-crop, a bit further east, early in 1971. A few iron beads have also been found in one rock-shelter. Some of the pot-sherds are of the "deep-grooved variety and are extremely thin. Kalobur rock is also known as "Nakapelimoru", although a small mountain located some miles further east near Wotokau settlement is more commonly (although incorrectly) known as "Nakapelimoru". Most informants do not know who the original inhabitants of this area were, although some, including an Ekuliakit, claim that they were Ngikuliak. The site was visited a number of times during late 1969, 1970 and early 1971. It can be reached by following the track of the Roman Catholic Fathers from Losilang Mission to eastern Nakapelimoru (Lokokorok). (Approx. map ref: sheet 18/3: 35, 86). The area is considered very sacred by the Jie of Nakapelimoru division and should be examined with great care.

4. Kalokuruk Rock (A large rock outcropping with a rock slide down its northern face and a ubao-board (ngikiles) cut into the rock near the top. Charles Nelson and Hamo Sassoon have examined the rock and have found pot-sherds and, I believe, microliths there. On the western side of the road across from Kalokuruk is Moru Eker ritual grove where the Jie New Fire ritual takes place. There appears to be a semi-circle of flat stones set into the ground facing toward the rock outcropping from which the grove takes its name. Extreme care should be taken in any investigations of this grove as it is very sacred to the Jie. Both sites were visited many times during my stay in Najie. The sites are reached by driving north from Kotido on the Losilang road. (Map ref: Sheet 18/3: 36,80).
5. Kiruu Cave. Possibly the home of Ngikuliak and/or Kapwor peoples. A large cave in the eastern side of Kiruu Rock. A number of large rocks piled at the entrance have prevented any major erosion out of the cave, and a very deep floor of silt has built up. One flat grinding stone found inside the cave and some pot-sherds. Other sherds and iron slag found outside. The site is extremely difficult to reach and requires extensive cross-country driving. Visited with Hamo Sassoon in 1970. (Approx. map ref: Sheet 25: 25, 84.)



6. Koten Hill. The traditional place of origin of many Jie clans. At Koten Hill itself, one small site containing very thin sherds of "deep-grooved" pottery and microliths was found. Very little pottery of any other type. On the N. and N.E. slopes of the hill are stone structures, possibly dwellings or granaries. All are circular and of various diameters from three feet to about 10 feet. A number of round, shallow-basin grinding stones were also found nearby.

Morulim Hill. Some stone structures on N. slopes. On a small hill about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile east of Morulem are more structures and some very large circles (perhaps 40 or 50 feet in diameter), possibly stock enclosures. Also a very small circle of flat, upright stones, possibly a shrine. No pottery. No iron-ware of any sort. Some piles of stones which may be burial cairns. A reliable informant claims there are rock paintings at Morulim, although none were found.

Visited with Hamo Sassoon, 3/12/70. Can be reached by any one of several tracks going east from the main Moroto-Kaabong road. A police escort will probably be required to visit the area. Map ref: Sheet 18/4: 341, 60 (Koten); 343, 55 (Morulim), 343, 56 (sm. hill near Morulim). Another small hill at 341, 58 would certainly bear investigation. There are reportedly iron-smelting sites somewhere along the Nangolapelon River, west of Morulim.

7. Kotiang Rock (sometimes called "Korwakol"). A ubao-board (ngikiles) cut into stone. A few pot-sherds with rouletted design. Visited several times in 1970. Can be reached by the track going through Kotiang to Rengen. (Approx. map ref: sheet 18/3: 38, 76.).

8. Kotidany/Katipus area. Home of the "Ngikapwor". At various times, the population probably included early "Ngiseera" peoples, early Acoli, and proto-Labwor. An extremely large and wide-spread settlement area which at various times was probably occupied by a population numbering many thousands. 173 deep-basin grinding stones were counted during a quick survey of the southern and eastern slopes of Katipus mountain. About 30 cairns (possibly burials) were seen in the same area. The remains of three smelting furnaces, two of them within circles of flat, up-right stones were also found. The remains of agricultural terracing and possibly some man-made channels can be seen on the hill side. A vast number of pot-sherds, mostly of "imprinted" and rouletted design, are found everywhere. In some areas, a rather thick variety of "deep-



12. Lakitelakaeby (rock outcroppings near chief's home)

grooved" pottery can also be found. The main exodus of population from the site probably occurred about 1800. The site can be reached by driving cross-country northwards from the main Kotido-Abim road towards Katipus mountain. The site covers a vast area, and only one corner of it was effectively surveyed. Visited several times in 1970-71, once (very briefly) with Hamo Sassoon. (Approx. map ref. would include at least: sheet: 25/2: 21 and 20, 85 and 86.) 26/1: 28, 17.

9. Labwor (reported site near Koya). According to Pidele Otyang, informant of Labwor Historical Text No. 9, there is, near Koya, a rock or cluster of rocks with holes cut in. These are ascribed to members of the Kakuku clan who could "beat the rocks to bring out water". Apparently there is also a deep hole used in various rituals. The site was never visited. Approx. map ref. sheet 25/3: 02, 82 (?).

10. Lokatap Rock (cairns) These are probably burial cairns. Lokatap Rock is considered the original home of the Rengen division of the Jie. On the rock itself are a large number of tame hyraxes, considered to be sacred by the people of the area. The site is accessible by the track leading from Kotido to Rengen. Visited several times. Map ref: sheet 18/3: 42, 77.

11. Lokibuwo (deep wells and village sites) The former home of the Jie Panyangara division. There are a number of village sites in open, grassy areas between the northern slopes of Mt. Toror and Lokibuwo. Loperdu, marked by a large tree and water-hole, is probably the largest of these sites. All sites are strewn with grinding stones and sherds of thick rouletted or "stab and drag" pottery. The wells at Lokibuwo are about 2½ miles NW of the northern slopes of Toror. There are a number of deep wells and water holes, many of which are joined together by a complicated series of channels and canals. Some of the wells are now perhaps 12-15 feet deep and supposedly were much deeper originally. Informants tell about "ladders" of six or eight men being formed to hand hide buckets of water up from the wells to waiting herds. The Panyangara division was driven from the area in the mid-nineteenth century. The sites are very difficult to reach. About the only possible way to reach them is to hike cross-country northwards from the geological survey track running along the northern slopes of Toror. Visited 15/4/70. Approx. map ref: sheet 26/1: 20, 28 and 29.

17. Wadung (outcroppings about ½ mile south of Wadung Hill). Near of outcroppings, unfortunately unnamed. Series of rock paintings on smooth western face of outcroppings, discovered jointly with John Sileon. Paints a dull dark red. Some probably of animals, others possibly



12. Lokitelakaebu (rock outcroppings near chief's home) There are a number of high, flat rock faces here, seemingly ideal for rock paintings, but none were found. The northern-most of these was not investigated, however, because of the presence of a hive of bees and a large puff adder. A good bit of pottery (much of it a very fine variety of "deep-grooved") and many microliths found below many of the rock faces. Visited in Feb. 1971. Located just south of the main Kotido-Abim road at Lokitelakaebu. Map ref: sheet 26/1: 28,12.
13. Lomilo Hill (stone circles, pottery). One of the chain of mountains in northern Losilang, possibly inhabited by the "Poet" (pre-Jie). There are several very good examples of circles of up-right flat stones north of the hill. A considerable amount of "deep-grooved" pottery and microliths washing out in a gully east of the hill not far from the road. Visited several times, once with Hama Sassoon. Located just west of old Kotido-Loyoro road. Map ref: sheet 16/3: 46,85.
14. Losikuca Hill (stone circles) Fairly large circles of up-right flat stones all over hill. Some "deep-grooved" pottery washing out in gullies east of hill. Possibly home of Ngikuliak and/or Poet. Possible remains of smelting furnace near top of hill. Visited 2/4/70. Can be reached by taking branch of the Kaceri track, about three miles north of Mt. Maru. Map ref: sheet 17/4: 46,00.
15. Losilang (rock outcropping east of road, several miles beyond mission). Sites investigated by Charles Nelson in 1970. Several ubao-boards (ngikiles) cut into one rock outcrop. A great deal of pottery washing out on eastern side of main outcrop, including "deep-grooved" and other unusual varieties. Fair number of microliths as well. Located east of old Kotido-Loyoro road. Map ref: sheet 18/3: 43, 83 (?).
16. Loyoro. Open grassy area near junction of main road and road to Loyoro dukas. Deep-basin grinding stones, circles of up-right flat stones. Pottery and microliths can be found washing out in MOW drainage ditches dug through site. Some "deep-grooved" pottery and a particularly thin, unmarked type. One sherd with designs on both sides. Inhabitants possibly Poet or early Toposa. Visited 27/6/70.
17. Madang (outcropping about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile south of Madang Hill). Name of outcropping unfortunately unknown. Series of rock paintings on smooth western face of outcropping, discovered jointly with John Wilson. Paintings all dark red. Some probably of animals, others possibly



- of bird's wings or ax-heads (?). One possibly of a human figure with a bow (?). Concentric semi-circles of stones planted in ground facing toward the rock face. John Wilson found a small flat stone used as a "palette" for mixing the red colour of the paintings. Very little pottery, most of it rather thick and unmarked. Visited in January, 1971. Located just east of old Kotido-Loyoro road. Map ref: sheet 18/3: 50, 87.
22. Moruaropian Hill. Another of the chain of hills in northern Losilang, possibly originally inhabited by Poet. Fine examples of circles of flat, up-right stones at northern end of hill. A ubao-board (ngikiles) cut into a portable stone found on top of hill with other stone circles. No pottery. Visited several times, 1970-1. Once with Hamo Sassoon. Located west of Kotido-Loyoro road. Map ref: sheet 18/3: 47, 84.
23. Naita Hill. Circles of up-right, flat stones at northern base of hill. Some pot-sherds (some "deep-grooved"), a few microliths on hill itself. Early inhabitants, Ngikuliak. Can be reached by fairly good track going north from main Kotido-Abim road. Visited twice in 1970. Map ref: sheet 18/3: 47, 84.
24. Nakapelimoru Hill. Although commonly called by this name, the hill is more correctly known as Magos Hill. Supposedly, there are a number of small caves in the hill in which pottery is hidden, some of it Ngikuliak of an early date. An investigation of the western side of the hill early in 1970 revealed a few such caves, but very little pottery of any interest. The hill is located just east of Wotokau settlement in Nakapelimoru Division. Map ref: sheet 18/3: 34, 89.
25. Nakere Well. Supposedly dug by the Ngiseera before they moved off to the west. The well is located just east of the Government rest camp near Kotido. It is now almost completely silted in. Another Ngiseera well is located about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile further east next to the air strip.

In the same area, north of the home of the A.D.C. are several rocks which have a number of fairly deep holes bored into them. Some informants say that the Ngiseera used these holes for grinding wild fruits, but it is possible that they were used for fashioning iron bells.

Perhaps  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile east of these sites, and just north of Nakerwon ritual grove, are two ubao-boards (ngikiles) cut into a flat rock.



All sites visited many times. Hamo Sassoon has seen the rock at the ADC's. Map ref: sheet 18/3: (wells) 33,78; (rock at ADC's) same. (Nakerwon) Sheet 26/1: 31, 23.

22. Nasokodomoru Rock. A stone scraper and some very unusual and thin sherds of "deep grooved" pottery found in rock shelter in eastern side of the outcropping. The rock is located just south of Maru mountain and can be reached by the Kaceri track going north from Lokitelakaebu. Visited 25/2/70. Map ref: sheet 17/4: 36,07. (marked "Arakath" on map).
23. Ngikuliak sites (on or near Maru mountain). Main habitation site on north-western spur of mountain. A number of deep-basin grinding stones. A great deal of pottery of various kinds including some "deep-grooved". Some sherds of clay tobacco-pipe bowls. A great deal of iron-ware: beads, arrowheads, bracelets, etc. Some iron slag. Ostrich egg-shell beads. Some agricultural terracing below habitation site. A number of circles of upright flat stones at northern and eastern bases of Mountain and near small hill about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile north of Maru. The Ngikuliak probably left these sites prior to 1850. There is supposedly a large natural cistern (called "Du-Du") between the 2 peaks of the mountain with some rock-paintings nearby, although this was never found despite a careful search. There are additional habitation sites near the southern peak of the mountain. Visited several times in 1970, twice with John Weatherby. Hamo Sassoon visited the mountain late in 1970. Can be reached by Kaceri track going north from Lokitelakaebu. Map ref: sheet 17/4: 36, 07.
24. Ngolemuria Hill. Thin, rather ornately designed potsherds of a type not seen elsewhere found in rock-shelter in eastern side of hill. The design seems to be the "deep-grooved" variety, augmented by other designs. There are a number of circles of flat, upright stones in the hills just north of Ngolemuria. Original inhabitants possibly Poet or an early Lwo-speaking group. The site is located at Nakwakwa, about three miles east of Maru. It can be reached by turning east off the Lokitelakaebu-Kaceri track at Maru and following a very faint track to the Nakwakwa area. Visited twice in 1970. Map ref: Sheet 17/4: 40, 09.
25. Poet Mountain. Supposedly one of the early homes of the Poet group. A number of circles of upright stones around the base. Some pottery, mostly thick and un-



marked or with rouletted design, washing out in various gullies at base. Nothing of interest found on hill itself, despite reports of village sites there. Other mountains north of Poet Mountain up to Kalomide also supposed to contain Poet village sites. Other sites supposedly at Makal, several miles east. Poet mountain was visited several times in 1970 and was more carefully explored with John Wilson early in 1971. The mountain is located at Kaceri, just behind the chief's home, Can be reached by the track from Lokitelakeebu. Map ref: sheet 17/4: 51, 03.

26. Sidok Two hills just east of the old Kotido-Loyoro road across from the Sidok primary school. At the western-more hill (nearer the road) quite a bit of pottery, much of it "deep grooved", as well as microliths, can be found around entire base and in rock shelter in western side. At the second hill, there is a vast amount of pottery washing out on the eastern side of the hill in a number of deep gullies there. Much of the pottery is of various "deep grooved" types, and of other thin and obviously old types. It is probably possible to reassemble some "deep grooved" pots. Also a great many microliths of various kinds.

On a spur on the eastern side of the second hill (the eastern-more) are the remains of a large stone circle and some pottery. Two flat stones are set vertically into the rocks near the top of this hill. There are other stone basin grinding stones, but some of these are fairly modern. This area is obviously an important one, and I would urge a thorough archaeological investigation.

Early inhabitants of the area unsure. The name "Sidok" seems to imply a Kalenjin connection.

The site was visited in June and August 1970 and in January, 1971.

The site can be reached by the old Kotido-Loyoro road. The same road goes through several open grassy areas, one about a mile or so south of Sidok, and two others north of Sidok. Each of these areas contains a good bit of pottery, much of it "deep grooved", as well as microliths. These were visited several times, in 1970.

Approx. map ref: sheet 18/3: 58, 91 (?) (Sidok); 59, 91 and 92 (?) (grassy areas).

27. Theau Mountain. Another of the chain of hills in northern Losilang. There is a large stone circle at

eastern foot of mountain. Very little pottery found. A few microliths. Visited 6/4/70. Charles Nelson visited the mountain earlier in 1970 and reported stone circles and pottery on the slopes of the mountain itself. Site is just east of old Kotido-Loyoro road, about six miles north of Kotido. It is better to hike in to the mountain itself, rather than attempt to drive. Map ref: sheet 18/3: 46, 86.

28. Toror Mountain. There are a number of sites in the large central valley in the northern slopes of the mountain. Many of these are caves in the hill-sides on the eastern and western sides of the valley. The largest cave is in Moru Angarumion on the western side of the valley. There are human skulls and bones in these caves; supposedly Karimojong killed by the Jie about 1850. There are more caves in the southern face of Moru Angarumion. Many of these caves are said to have been inhabited by Tepes, probably prior to 1850. A good bit of pottery - mostly of a light rouletted design. Other habitation sites are located on the floor of the central valley itself. One of the main iron mines of the Labwor is located at the southern end of the central valley. A great deal of iron ore can still be found in many parts of the valley.

Below the entrance to the central valley at Morukol, is a habitation site supposedly of Popongo Nyakwai and Labwor. Pottery of an imprinted design. Iron smelting said to have gone on there in the middle of the nineteenth century.

All sites visited several times in 1970, once with John Weatherby. Hamo Sassoon visited some sites in the central valley in December 1970. John Wilson has also investigated many sites on the mountain prior to 1970.

The central valley can be reached by a Geological Survey track.

Map ref: sheet 26/1: 15, 31 and 32 (central valley); 16, 30 (Morukol).

A smaller mine was shown places of iron at a time. These are cooled only by putting them under water, and are never plunged into water to be cooled.



APPENDIX 7  
APPENDIX 6

A SHORT VOCABULARY OF LABOR WORDS RELATING TO IRON AND IRON-MAKING. Collected during 1-8, informants: Ogwang (John) and Okang (Omonarek), at Arengadwot, Alerik Parish.

- Some weeks before my initiation, Nabeo Noyatuka, my Jio "father".
- smelted iron - aduru  
instructed me in the observance which I should have to follow as an initiated man. (The said instruction session was recorded as J-112.) I was told not to look directly into a coal fire, not to sit on the stool of a
- iron ore - lelo
- to smelt iron - buko lelo
- hammer (a thin stone) - boo  
member of my senior amogadi, was instructed which parts of a
- anvil (a large stone, about three feet high, set into the ground)  
sacrificial as it was proper to eat. (The said instruction session was recorded as J-113.)
- mini kidi ("mother of the stone (hammer)")
- I purchased my ox and helped to select the said animal.
- smelting hut - ot buk  
to the elders". The ox chosen was olokumol (white, with tan spots,
- smelting tube - Caro  
and awolokumol (white horns pointing together).
- smelting fire - buk
- slag - ruba  
On the morning of my initiation, Teao, my "brother" and
- smelter, blacksmith or artisan - botho
- to hammer (iron) - zroc  
where we found Nabeo and his younger brothers and
- iron-working hut - ot tet  
were invited to join them and were
- bellows bags (made of goat skins or reeduck skins, of any colour)  
wife had brewed during the past week.
- loc buk

There is no special word for the sticks used to work the bellows bag.

A small cross stick is fixed at the top of each stick to prevent it slipping from the smelter's hand.

A smelter makes only three pieces of iron at a time. These are cooled only by putting them aside, and are never plunged into water to be cooled. re, and Nabeo (the first agiloma initiate of loko) initiated

us from inside Gila's enclosure, just as I spoke to him in the right

APPENDIX 7NOTES ON MY OWN INITIATION INTO THE NGIKOSOWA AGE-SET OF THE NGITOME GENERATION-SET, 5th FEBRUARY, 1971, AT LOKWOR, KOTIDO DIVISION

Some weeks before my initiation, Mabuc Loputuka, my Jie "father", instructed me in the observances I would have to follow as an initiated man. (The main instruction session was recorded as J-112.) I was told not to look directly into a cooking pot, not to sit on the stool of a member of any senior asapanu, and was instructed which parts of a sacrificial ox it was proper to eat. Mabuc accompanied me on the day I purchased my ox and helped me to select one which would be "pleasing to the elders". The ox chosen was ngolokomol (white, with tan spots) and ngolonokur (with horns pointing together).

On the morning of my initiation, Teko, my "brother" and Mabuc's youngest son, collected me from my home at 5.30 a.m. and we went to Mabuc's homestead. There we found Mabuc and his younger brothers and half-brothers sitting by a fire. We were invited to join them and were given some of the beer which Cila, my Jie "mother" and Mabuc's second wife had brewed during the past week.

The cattle which had been taken out to be watered earlier were driven back to the kraal just as it was becoming light, and I was taken by Teko and Lolek (one of the first Ngitome initiates of Lokwor) into the kraal. Without further ado, Teko handed me my spear and told me to spear my ox which was standing with the other cattle. Mabuc, his brothers, and Naimut (the first Ngitome initiate of Lokwor) watched us from inside Cila's enclosure. Just as I speared the ox (in the right



side, aiming for the spot between the first and second ribs, as I had been instructed), it lunged and although it was a deep one, the thrust landed too close to the shoulder. It is important for an initiate to make only the first thrust, and additional thrusts are always performed by his asapanu brothers. Teko quickly took my spear and made a second thrust, but again the ox lunged and the thrust landed too far back along the ribs. Lolek took up the spear, but the ox, naturally very excited, refused to turn its right side. After some difficulty, he made the third thrust, but it barely grazed the ox. A fourth thrust was more successful and this time exactly the right spot was found and the ox began to wobble. As it started to go down, everyone watching began to yell, "to the east, to the east!" As if hearing the command, the ox fell with its head to the east in the "proper" manner, which everyone agreed was a very good omen.

When it was dead, all the initiated Ngitome present dragged the ox to the centre of the kraal where Mabuc ensured that it was laid out correctly, head to the east, belly to the south. The initiated Ngitome cut out the elamacar (strip of sub-anal flesh) with their spears, and then the strip of skin between the right rear leg and last rib (the apol) was cut out. These were carefully laid out on some thorn branches placed on the southern side of the ox. The ox was then disemboweled and the intestines removed. The stomach was split with a spear, and the chyme allowed to pour out onto the ground.

I was then called to stand in front of the chyme, facing the east. Teko, Moding and three other members of the Ngikosowa anyamet who had

already been initiated some days before stood beside me. All of the ornaments I was wearing were taken from me by Naimet, who stood facing us. (I was allowed to retain my shorts and shoes until later in the day when they were given to Mabuc, but it is normal for an initiate to give over all of his old ornaments and clothing at this point. This was the only concession made to me; otherwise my experience was exactly that of any Jie initiate.) The ornaments were placed at my feet, and Naimet later took them and put them on. Lolek, who joined Naimet, then smeared me with chyme, most being smeared on my forehead, chest and toes. Mabuc then brought Lolek a stick and we Ngikosowa were told to run out of the kraal. As we did, Lolek took several swipes at us. Outside the gate of the kraal we sang one of the Ngitome asapanu songs recorded below, and were then allowed back inside the kraal.

The cutting up of the ox continued, during which time other Ngitome and Ngikosowa from other notido clans arrived. When the stomach cavity of the ox was cleared of intestines, each of the Ngikosowa came forward in turn and drank blood from the cavity where it had collected. I drank last. The rest of the blood was collected in calabashes, mixed with sugar and set aside for the later consumption by the elders. Following this, the Ngikosowa gathered firewood and sorghum stalks upon which the roasted meat was to be placed.

When the cutting up of the ox was completed, the head and neck was seized by as many of the Ngitome and Ngikosowa as could get a hold and we carried it out of the kraal into the compound of Cila. As we carried the head we sang another Ngitome asapanu song. In front of Cila's doorway, the head and neck were laid down, and the last rib



from the right side of the ox was handed inside the house to Cila, where she was waiting with my wife and my infant son. Then all of the Ngitome and Ngikosowa sat down in a semi-circle around the ox's head, with me sitting just to the east of the doorway, which pointed north. Beer was handed out of the house for us by the women and we drank it as we sang a number of asapanu songs, including the following:

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| I   | Torema aa Ngitome<br>Areme apanyemudong<br>Nyeari natidae nyetome<br>Nakwara nyekedeke<br>O, O, Acakakin locoto put<br>h,iii   | Spear the elephant<br>Apanyemadong speared it<br>Natidae (a cattle disease) cannot kill<br>The spear is its disease / the elephant<br>It has fallen into the mud: "puth"!Eeee!  |
| II  | O, O, Amata nyerupe lomatarupe<br>nyetome<br>Kiruko Lolem nyetome<br>Kiruko longangamoe nyetome<br>Kireme nyepai tolot, o, o<br>Ayellelo, longoingoi ka<br>ngityang<br>Kireme nyakapolon ka ngityang<br>tolosi<br>Ca lobilakito kanyekore, iii,o | Oh, oh, it has drunk, it always drinks,<br>the water of the short rains, the elephant<br>Lolem, sing of the elephant<br>Lonyangamoe, sing of the elephant<br>We speared it and it went away<br>Lululu, chief of the animals, lulu<br><br>We speared the leader of animals as<br>it moved<br>The one who breaks trees with its<br>chest, ee, oh! |
| III | Elal nyikore kicaki ne, iii<br>Papakothi kicaki ne, iii<br>Lokolimoe, nyetome kicaki ne<br>Loomako, nyetome kicaki ne.   | That which trod here was big, eee<br>Our father trod here, eee<br>Lokolimoe, the elephant trod here<br>Loomakol, the elephant trod here   |
| IV  | I, O, ye ooo. Nyamoni<br>angikothowa awatar ngitome.<br>Awatari ngitome nyamoi<br>alolelenye kori<br><br>Temathi Nadenya toethnik nyaupal<br><br>O, O, Lotir nyaj ore  | Oh, in the forest of buffaloes, the<br>elephants were standing there.<br>The elephants were standing in the<br>forest of the "shallow-headed one"<br>(a reference to the buffalo)<br>Youtell Nadenya to leave the pierced<br>buffalo-hide shield<br>Oh, it which (if killed) can be enough<br>for an army (to eat)                              |
| V   | Iyaa, ooo, o imiliakial<br>imilia elosia<br>Kiremo inyakapolon<br>Kiremo nyetome tigor imilia<br>ngikial   | Iyaa, oh! The tusks glitter<br>It glitters when it is going<br>We speared the big one<br>We speared the big elephant with<br>glittering tusks   |



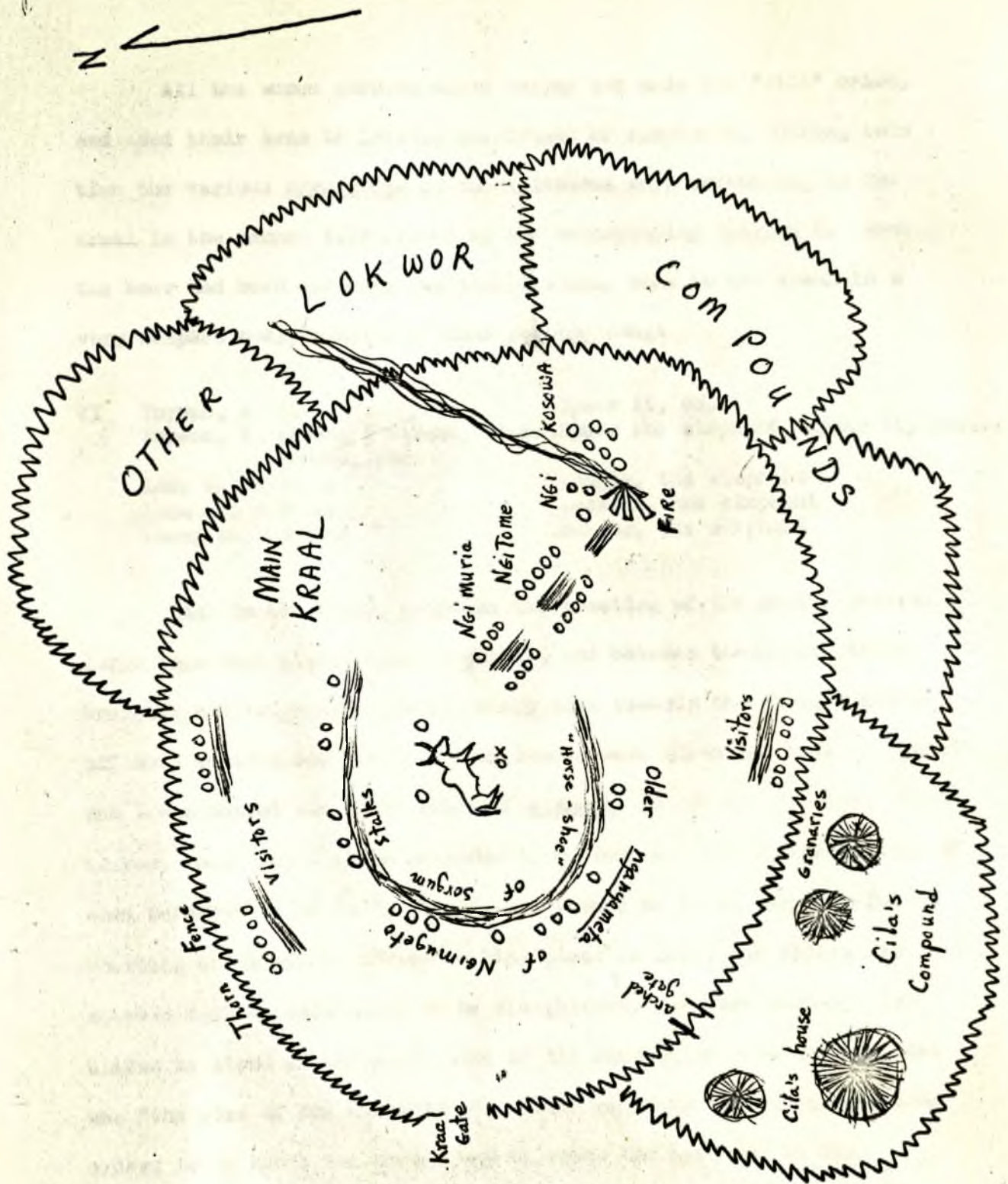


Diagram 1

First phase of initiation  
(Morning)



All the women present stood nearby and made the "lili" cries, and used their arms to imitate the trunks of elephants. During this time the various nganyameta of the Ngikosowa were assembling in the kraal in the manner illustrated by the accompanying Diagram 1. When the beer had been consumed, we danced slowly back to the kraal in a very compact body, singing a final asapana song:

VI	Toremo, o, ii	Spear it, oh.
	Toremo, i, etome, i toremo, etome,	Spear the elephant, spear it, etc...
	i toremo, etc.	
	Long ok, nyetome	Longok, the elephant
	Lokauda, nyetome	Lokauda, the elephant
	Loung or, nyetome	Loungor, the elephant

Back in the kraal, we began the roasting of the meat. Several large logs were placed close together, and between these, dry thorn branches and twigs were placed, bushy ends towards the east, broken-off ends towards the west. The Ngikosowa were given the task of roasting, and I was handed the first piece of elamacar to put on the fire. As we worked, there was a close comradeship between all the Ngikosowa, all of whom referred to me as "brother", and warned me to be very careful in roasting the meat, as if even a tiny piece is lost, the elders can command that an additional ox be slaughtered. We were strictly forbidden to stand on the south side of the fire while roasting, as that was "the side of the Karimojong". Older men were constantly shouting orders to us about the proper way to roast the meat and so on.

Pieces of meat to be roasted were passed down to us by the ngikatyekak (ritual specialists) who were men of some of the senior Ngikoria nganyameta. They were in charge of the final phase of cutting

up the meat, which they passed to the Ngimuria, one of the most junior age-sets of the Ngikoria, who in turn passed it to the Ngitome, who in turn passed it to us. This is illustrated in Diagram 1.

The elders of all the Lokwor settlements, together with a number of elders from other Kotido clans, had assembled as the meat was being roasted. As we roasted the meat it was passed back to the elders in the reverse order that we received it: Ngikosowa to Ngitome to Ngimuria and then the various nganyameta of the elders which were seated in a semi-circle around the kraal which was marked by the sorghum stalks we had collected. During the roasting, we went out several times to collect additional stalks and firewood.

Only a few rather poor pieces of meat were allotted to the Ngikosowa, most of the better pieces being handed out to the most senior nganyameta present. A few of these pieces were returned to us by some of the more generous members of the senior groups.

Unlike the oxen slaughtered on many other ritual occasions, an initiation ox is not skinned, but is roasted with the hide still on. When the large piece of meat with the tail attached was handed down to me, I had to squat near the fire holding the tail out from the fire. Great care has to be taken not to drop the tail and the fire must not be allowed to singe even a single hair of the tuft of the tail. If either happens, the elders can order the sacrifice of an additional ox. I was eventually relieved from the task by some



of my age-mates, who took turns in holding the tail.

The left rear leg (episit) was the last piece to be handed down to me. After it was singed in the fire I returned it to the elders by walking up through the middle of the Ngitome and Ngimuria groups, over the top of their sorghum stalks, and then in front of the seated groups of the more senior nganyameta, to lay it on the bed of thorns near the ngikatayak who had been in charge of cutting and distributing the meat.

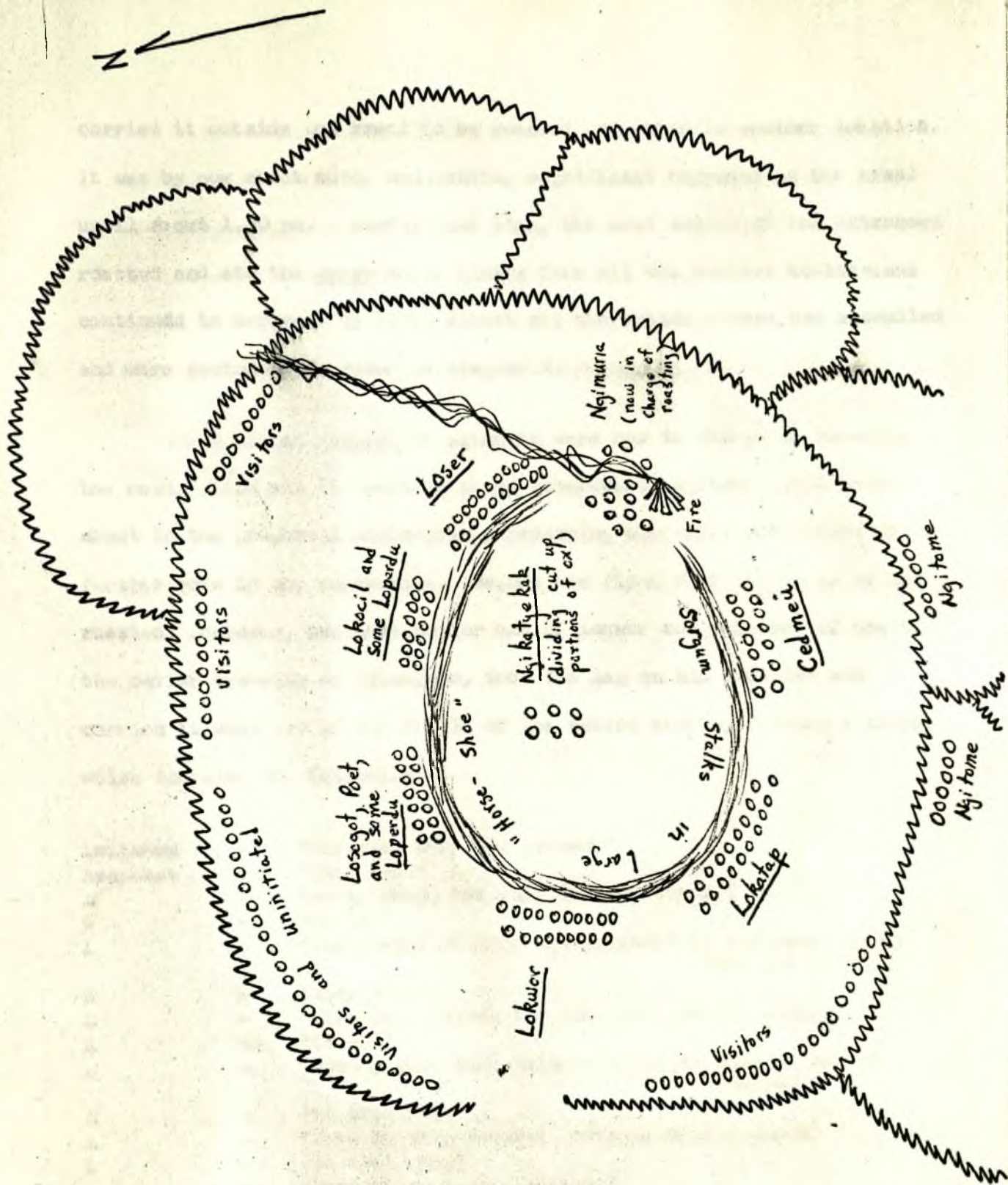
Prayers were then given, with Loporon (Cila), the informant of J-94, and a member of the Ngimoru age-set of the "grandfathers" generation, Ngikosowa, leading most of them. The majority of these prayers invoked a blessing on me, the following excerpt from one of Loporon's prayers being very typical:

- Loporon - "There are cattle at Lokwor."  
 Response by all initiated men - "There are."  
 L. - "There are Ngikorwakol cattle."  
 R. - "There are."  
 L. - Tongaar (literally, 'it is open', ie. the path is clear, the future looks good).  
 R. - "Tongaar".  
 L. - "You, John, you don't meet thorns or stumps" (referring to my path being clear).  
 R. - "He doesn't."  
 L. - "You don't meet with a cough (nyrokum) or pneumonia (nyekekoth)."  
 R. - "He doesn't."  
 L. - "John, among the Jie, is present."  
 R. - "He is."  
 L. - "God has heard, has he not?"  
 R. - "He has."

After the prayers, all the surviving members of the "grandfathers" generation, Ngikosowa, who were present took hold of the right rear leg (amuro) of the ox slaughtered yesterday by another Lokwor initiate and



Diagram 2  
 Second Phase of Initiation  
 (Afternoon)





carried it outside the kraal to be roasted and eaten in another location. It was by now about noon, and nothing significant happened in the kraal until about 1.30 pm. During that time, the most senior of the Ngikosowa roasted and ate the amuro while elders from all the various Kotido clans continued to arrive. By 1.30, almost all the Kotido elders had assembled and were seated as is shown in Diagram 2.

The Ngimuria anyamet of Ngikoria were now in charge of roasting the meat, while all the members of my generation, Ngitome, just stood about in the household enclosures surrounding the kraal and played no further role in the ceremonies. Before the right rear leg of my ox was roasted, Loitatum, the most senior man of Lokwor and a member of one of the senior age-sets of Ngimugeto, took the leg on his shoulder and carried it once around the circle of the seated elders, leading a prayer which included the following:

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
| Loitatum | - | "The Jie, they are present."   |
| Response | - | "They are."  |
| L        | - | "John, among the Jie, he is present."                                |
| R        | - | "He is."   |
| L        | - | "The people of John are present" (a reference to my wife and child). |
| R        | - | "They are."  |
| L        | - | "When John leaves the Jie, his path is clear."                       |
| R        | - | "It is."   |
| L        | - | "When going, does he meet a cough? Does he meet a fever?"            |
| R        | - | "He does not."   |
| L        | - | "Does he meet thorns? Does he meet a curse?"                         |
| R        | - | "He does not."   |
| L        | - | "Does he meet with spears?"  |
| R        | - | "He does not."   |
| L        | - | "John reaches his home safely, and his father, isn't he pleased?"    |
| R        | - | "He is pleased."   |
| L        | - | "John meets with money."   |
| R        | - | "He does."   |
| L        | - | "John meets with a good job in the Government."                      |
| R        | - | "He does."   |
| L        | - | "God has heard, has he not?"   |
| R        | - | "He has."  |

The older men sat around the semi-circle of sorghum stalks by clans, as shown in Diagram 2. In the middle of the circle were the ngikatyekak, one from each clan, who were responsible for getting the proper pieces of meat and taking them to their clansmen. The Cedmeu clan received the bone of the right rear leg. The most senior elders, the Ngikosowa and the senior Ngimugeto age-sets sat along the semi-circle itself, while the members of the more junior Ngimugeto age-sets sat behind them.

The most senior elders drank the blood, mixed with sugar, and ate the remaining pieces of meat, the final pieces being the ajep. As the last of the meat was being consumed, a number of prayers were offered. The following brief excerpts are typical:

I Excerpts from the prayer of Loporon (Cila) of the Cedmeu clan invoking the wellbeing of the Jie:

- L - There are cattle in Najie.  
 R - There are.  
 L - The tethers for calves (nyaenet) are present, (ie. let the cows produce calves).  
 R - They are.  
 L - The Jie, they are very rich.  
 R - They are.  
 L - The Jie, they feel weight (kinua) (ie. the Jie have a "heavy load" of cattle).  
 R - They do.  
 L - And the people, are they not present in Najie?  
 R - They are.  
 L - The ngaiyoi (cattle camps) of the west have gone to Acholi. When the rains come, they will have seen the east (ie., they will have come home).  
 R - They have seen.  
 L - And their fathers, are they not pleased?  
 R - They are pleased.  
 L - The urine gourds (ngicoothin), are they not pleased?  
 R - They are pleased.  
 L - The gourds for churning milk (ngikeretin), are they not pleased?  
 R - They are pleased.  
 L - And now this cloud and this rain has come.  
 R - It has.  
 L - The sorghum of the Jie, doesn't it grow?  
 R - It does.  
 L - The year of much food (longeo) is present.  
 R - It is.  
 L - God has heard, has he not?  
 R - He has.



II Excerpts from the prayers of Kere, a member of the Ngimoru age-set of Ngikosowa, and of the Lokatap clan. My son was given the same name as Kere who was very pleased at our selection:

- K - John, he is present.  
 R - He is.  
 K - His way is open.  
 R - It is open.  
 K - He meets with a good job.  
 R - He does.  
 K - He becomes very rich.  
 R - He does.  
 K - He has many cattle.  
 R - he has.  
 K - The wife of John, she meets many children.  
 R - She does.  
 K - With sons, she meets.  
 R - She does.  
 K - And with daughters.  
 R - She does.  
 K - All the evil things, from John, they go away.  
 R - They have gone.  
 K - Peace is with him.  
 R - It is.  
 K - God, who told John to feed the elders, is pleased.  
 R - He is.  
 K - Let us say the name 'Kere', the name John has given his child. It suits the child.  
 R - It does.  
 K - Are his people not well pleased with the name?  
 R - They are.  
 K - And God, has he not heard?  
 R - He has.  
 K - You, John. You have not stolen my name. You chose it yourself. I am happy. That name will cause the child to grow up. When you return again to Kotido, you will tell the child: "I am taking you to see your grandfather, Kere".

III Final prayers, led by Loitatum of the Losogot clan:

- L - Kere, the son of John grows big, does he not?  
 R - He does.  
 L - Kere, to his grandparents goes without trouble.  
 R - He does.  
 L - The way of John is open.  
 R - It is open.  
 L - God has refused John (ie. God has refused to let John die).  
 R - He has.  
 L - John, among the Kotido, is present.  
 R - He is.  
 L - Mabuc, together with his son John, is present.  
 R - He is.  
 L - God has heard.  
 R - He has.

After the prayers, the beer was brought out by Cila and other Lokwor women. The elders divided themselves into three large groups: Ngikosowa, senior Ngimugeto, and Junior Ngimugeto, to drink it. A few additional prayers, very similar to those recorded above were given. At the end of these, I was called upon to enter the kraal and to make a short speech to the elders.

The last rite of the day took place just at sunset when the elders had already begun to disperse. All of my new age-mates gathered near Cila's house. I was seated on a stool of my new generation-set and together we drank the last of the beer which Cila had kept back in her house. Then, with all of my age-mates clustering around, several of them tied a small stick with strings into the hair at the back of my head. This is to represent the aloket, the horned headdress of an adult Jie, and it remained in my hair until the next morning when it was removed. The comradeship displayed during the final rite was perhaps the closest of the entire day, there was indeed a very strong feeling of the corporate unity and the unique identity of our own age-set. After singing one of the slower asapanu songs we dispersed and went to our own homes.



APPENDIX 8

NOTES ON AN "EKOR" CEREMONY PERFORMED AT THE HOMESTEAD OF THE TESIYO CLAN, KANAWAT TERRITORIAL DIVISION, 31st DECEMBER, 1971. Recorded as "Jie Ritual Text Number 7".

INTRODUCTION

I was extremely fortunate to have observed this ceremony as it takes place only very infrequently. As noted in the text, the honey-badger or ratel (ekor) is regarded by both Jie moieties as their emblem, and there is a strong prohibition against killing it.

Earlier in the year, Lokiru, a member of the Tesiyo clan, was on his way to the cattle camps with a companion when they encountered a ratel. The animal was startled at their approach and attacked them. Lokiru, in defending himself from the attack with his spear, killed the ratel. In the words of Madang, the informant of J-117, who accompanied me to the ceremony: "At such times, men forget the rule that a ratel should not be killed. It is fortunate that Lokiru was with his friend, for without a witness, a person cannot hope to kill a ratel. If a man is alone, he can spear a ratel many times, but it will not die."

As a fine, Lokiru was ordered by the elders of his area to slaughter three oxen from his herd to provide a feast. The millet beer for the feast was provided by some of his neighbours.

### THE CEREMONY

Several hundred elders of both the Ngikosowa and Ngimugeto generation-sets gathered in the kraal of Lokiru's homestead. Most of the elders seem to have been of the Lokorwakol moiety, but at least some Rengen elders were present, as well. Lokiru, wearing the skin of the ratel on his back, wandered about through the elders accompanied by several friends, and as he passed, elders would call out, "Why did you kill it?" "What did the ratel eat which belonged to you?" Although supposedly being punished for his action, Lokiru seemed to be largely unconcerned by the shouts of the elders (who didn't appear to be really angry, in any case). The general impression given was that Lokiru was something of a celebrity for having killed the ratel, and the atmosphere of the entire assemblage was definitely festive.

After a time, all the elders present sang the following song:

Nyekori anyama nyo?	Ratel, what has it eaten?
Anyam totokon a?	Has it eaten your mother?
Nyama nyo?	What has it eaten?
Anyam papakan a?	Has it eaten your father?
Anyam nakatikon a?	Has it eaten your sister?
Nyekori anyama nyo?	Ratel, what has it eaten?

Following the song, several prayers were led by two or three Ngikosowa elders, and then Koroc Lokepon, the hereditary asapanu-leader of the Ngikorwakol and the assistant ekeworon, made a long speech to the assembly. This speech had nothing whatever to do with the matter at hand, and was concerned mainly with problems of grazing and Turkana raids.

There was such a large group of elders present and they were packed so tightly into the kraal that it was virtually impossible



## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

## A. PRIMARY SOURCES (Unpublished)

to note any definite seating arrangement by asapanu or anyamet. Indeed, the numbers present obviously far exceeded expectations, and apparently there was concern that even with three oxen slaughtered there would not be enough meat to go around. Accordingly, a senior elder asked the junior nganyameta of the Ngimugeto to depart. Many seemed hesitant to leave until Koroc Lokepon rose and addressed a few words to them, at which there was a general exodus of the junior Ngimugeto.

As I was far junior to those who were dismissed, I felt it best to leave at this point too, and so did not witness the conclusion of the ceremony. From subsequent descriptions of senior elders who were present, the remainder of the ceremony was devoted to consuming the meat and the beer, and was concluded by the usual prayers, again with hardly any reference to Lokiru or his killing of the ratel.

c) Oral Evidence. Apart from oral traditions (which of course provided the greatest single source of information for this thesis) many of my older Tse and Mardie informants also provided a good deal of oral evidence pertinent to many of the events described in the final chapter of this thesis. In which they themselves took part. I was amazed at how very closely much of this oral evidence paralleled written sources. At times oral evidence describing the same events. Specific references to individual informants and interviews by name in the footnotes throughout this thesis.

d) Also of great help in writing the final chapter of this thesis are Interviews, J.A., "Sketch Map of the Northern Frontier District and Turken" (Blue print drawn by Lt. J.P.G. Stutterford, 4th R.A.W., Dec. 1919, scale 1:50,000). A copy is in the possession of the Royal Geographical Society, London.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTESA. PRIMARY SOURCES (Unpublished)1. Primary Documents and Oral Evidence:

- a) Entebbe Archives. About two weeks were spent going through files on Karamoja at various times during my field-work in Uganda. Over 30 separate files were consulted, of which three: EA-1049, Part II, EA-2119 and EA-4325, Part I, proved most relevant to my research into Jie oral history. As noted in the final chapter of this thesis, it is most unfortunate that several files of potential interest to my research have "disappeared" from the Archives.
- b) Foreign Office Confidential Prints. Two weeks were spent examining about 50 confidential prints prior to my departure to Uganda and notes were taken. I found that much of the information from this source was only peripheral to my research into Jie oral history, and that much of the more relevant material was duplicated in the files examined at the Entebbe Archives. Therefore, while the confidential prints were valuable to my general preparation before going to Uganda, the Entebbe Archives proved a better source of directly relevant information.
- c) Oral Evidence. Apart from oral traditions (which of course provided the greatest single source of information for this thesis) many of my older Jie and non-Jie informants also provided a great deal of oral evidence pertinent to many of the events described in the final chapter of this thesis, in which they themselves took part. I was amazed at how very closely much of this oral evidence paralleled written sources or other oral evidence describing the same events. Specific reference to individual informants and interviews is made in the footnotes throughout this thesis.

- d) Also of great help in writing the final chapter of this thesis was Chidlaw-Roberts, J.R., "Sketch Map of the Northern Frontier District and Turkana" (Blue Print drawn by Lt. T.P.C. Stuttaford, 4th K.A.R., Dec. 1919, scale 1:500,000. A copy is in the possession of the Royal Geographical Society, London.



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### 1. UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

- a) "Historical Texts" By far the single most im-  
 portant source of information used in writing  
 this thesis was the series of 195 formal inter-  
 views, or "Historical Texts", conducted during  
 my 16 months of field-work in Karamoja and Turkana  
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